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CRITICAL NOTES ON CLEM. AL. STROM. VI.

(Continued from page 302.)

§ 65, p. 772. ἐπειδὴ Ἑλληνές φασι...παντὶ λόγῳ λόγον ἀντικεῖσθαι παρεσκενάσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸν τοιούτον τῶν λόγων ἀρμόζει λέγεσθαι λέγει γὰρ κ.τ.λ. *Menage* suggests ἀντικείμενον. Perhaps it would be better to put a comma after ἀντικείσθαι and read ἀπολογεῖσθαι for λέγεσθαι, which may have been changed owing to the following λέγαι. [I.B. suggests διαλέγεσθαι.]

P. 773. ὁ Κλήμης ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους φροτὶ τοιούτος οἱ ὅσ τε ἐκείνῳ πειθεῖσθαι τῷ παραγγέλματι, 'καὶ οὐδὲ μὲν ἐκ πρὸς ἀρπάζετε, διακρινομένους δὲ ἐλεέτε.' Put a comma after παραγγέλματι. For οὐδὲ τε I should be inclined to read ὅν οὐδος.

Ib. ἀνθρωπος...γεωμετρεῖ καὶ γεωργεῖ καὶ φιλοσοφεῖ ὅν τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ζῆν, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ εὖ ζῆν, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μελετῶν τὰ ἀποδεικτικὰ γεγένητα. Should we not read τῷ after ἐπὶ in each case? Perhaps γεωργεῖ and γεωμετρεῖ have changed places.

§ 66, p. 773. καὶ κεῖνο ἐπιστησάτωσαν ὅτι φροτὶ ἡ γραφὴ μεταχηματίζεσθαι τὸν διάβολον εἰς ἄγγελον φωτός. Read κάκείνῳ. A little below put a full stop after ἀποστασίας, where D. has a comma.

§ 68, p. 774. τολμῶμεν φάγαι...πάντων ἐπιστήμονα εἶναι...βεβαίᾳ καταλήψει κεχρημένον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμῖν ἀπόρων καὶ τῷ ὅντι γνωστικῶν, ὅποιος ἦν Ιάκωβος. There is no subject for the infinitive εἶναι or for ὅποιος, and γνωστικῶν appears to be neuter, contrary to C.'s use of the word. Read τὸν τ. ὁ. γνωστικόν, omitting καὶ.

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§ 69, p. 775. ἡ μὲν ὄρμὴ, καθάπερ γνῶσίς ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅντων κινούμενη, γνῶσις δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο θέα τίς ἔστι τῆς ψυχῆς τῶν ὄντων. The final τῶν ὄντων seems intended to mark a distinction between γνῶσις and ὄρμη. Perhaps the first ὄντων has replaced γνωμένων or φαινομένων.

§ 71, p. 775. Put full stops after ὑπέλαβον and λύπη.

Ib. p. 776. ὃς οὔτε θαρσεῖν ἔχει, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν δευτοῖς γίνεται μηδὲν δευτὸν ἡγούμενος τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ, οὐδὲ ἀποστῆσαι τι καὶ τούτον αὐτὸν τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀγάπης δύναται, οὔτε εὐθυμίας χρέα ἔστιν. For καὶ τούτον perhaps we should read τοιούτον or βιωτικόν.

Ib. οὐδὲ ζηλοῖ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνδεῖ τι αὐτῷ πρὸς ἔξομοιστιν τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ εἶναι. Omit εἶναι, or else read τοῦ (governed by ἐνδεῖ) for τῷ.

§ 73, p. 776. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀφέλοιμεν αὐτοῦ, ὡς πάντως ὑπὸ τῶν λυπηρῶν συγχθησμένον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κάκιστα ἀπαλλάξοντος τοῦ ζῆν, εἰ μὴ μετείη αὐτῷ...οὐκ ἀντῶν ὁ μοίων τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς ἔφεσιν λάβοι. Omit μὴ, which probably arose from dittography of the following syllable, and read τὴν ὄμοιαν. The sentence, as is shown by what follows, is an argument of the opponent to prove that ἐπιθυμία is needed. 'If' (say they) 'we were to deprive the perfect man of desire (on the ground that it would lead to his being overwhelmed with worries and dying miserably, if he had a share in it); he would not then have the

same eagerness as a man ought to have.' The absence of ἐπιθυμία would not prevent the pursuit of the *same objects* as the good ; it would only make the pursuit *less eager*. Perhaps φησίν has been lost after ἐπιθυμίαν. The MS. has τοῦ τε ζῆν : perhaps we should read τοῦδε τοῦ ζῆν. [I.B. thinks we may keep to the MS. if the comma is placed before, instead of after, τοῦ τε ζῆν.] For μένει in the next sentence read μενεῖ.

P. 777. οὐδὲ ἄρα ζηλώσει ἔξομοιοθήναι τοῖς καλοῖς εἰναι δι' ἀγάπης ἔχων τοῦ κάλλους. For εἶναι read εἰκόνα, put a comma after καλοῖς, and perhaps insert αὐτῷ after ἔχων.

§ 74, p. 777. ἡ κατάστασις δὲ ἡ τοιάδε ἀπάθειαν ἐργάζεται, οὐ μετριοπάθειαν, ἀπάθειαν δὲ καρπούται παντελής τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκκοπή. Put a colon after ἐργάζεται, insert γάρ after οὐ, and change παντελής into παντελῆς.

§ 75, p. 777. τίς γάρ ὑπολείπεται ἐπι τούτῳ εὐλογος αἰτίᾳ... τῷ τὸ ἀπρόσιτον ἀπειλήφοτι φῶς ; καν μηδέπω κατὰ τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὸν τόπον, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη γε τῇ γνωστικῇ ἀγάπῃ. Put a comma after φῶς and question after ἀγάπῃ. There should be a mark of interrogation at the end of the §.

§ 76, p. 778. Put a colon after ἐμπαθῶν. A little below in καθάπερ πρωρισμένως κεῖται δι' ὧν πράξει καὶ οὐ τεύξεται, οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς προορίσας ἔχει δι' ὧν ἔγνων ὃν ἡ γάπη σεν, for the first ὃν read ὧν and for ἡγάπησεν probably ἀγάπησει : 'As it is predetermined through his (foreseen) acts, what his future also shall be ; so he has himself determined whom he shall love by what he has learnt.'

§ 77, p. 778. οὐδὲ εὔξεται τυχεῖν τῶν τῆδε... ἔχεσθαι δὲ δεὶ τῆς ἐπηβόλου.... πίστεως καὶ πρὸς τοιούδε παικτόλλους... δμούσους αὐτῷ γενέσθαι εὔξεται. Put a full stop after πίστεως.

εἰς ὃ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσει χωρῆσαι τὴν εἰκόνα θέμις. Dindorf, following Sylburg's first correction, reads ὃ for MS. ὃν : I prefer his second correction ὃσον, both as being a more usual expression with C, and explaining the corruption better.

§ 78, p. 779. ἀληθείαν παρ' αὐτῆς ἔχει τῆς ἀληθείας μαθὼν οὐκ εἰ πού τι φανεῖ πιθανὸν ἡ κατὰ λόγον Ἐλληνικὸν ἀναγκαστικὸν πρὸς αὐτῆς αἰρούμενος τῆς ἀληθείας, τὰ δὲ εἰρημένα ὑπὸ κυρίου σαφῆ καὶ πρόσδηλα ἔχει λαβὼν, καν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡ ἐπικεκρυμένα, ἥδη περὶ πάντων εἰληφε τὴν γνῶσιν. Put a comma after μαθὼν, a colon after the second ἀληθείας, and a full stop after γνῶσιν. For πρὸς read πρὸ, and for ἔχει λαβὼν read perhaps ὑπολαβὼν.

§ 80, p. 779. τοῖς εἰς γνῶσιν γνωμάζοντιν αὐτὸν προσανάκειται, παρ' ἔκαστον μαθῆματος τὸ πρόσφορον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ λαμβάνων. τῆς μὲν οὐν μουσικῆς τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἡρμοσμένοις ἀναλογίαι

διώκων, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριθμητικῇ τὰς αὐξήσεις καὶ μειώσεις τῶν ἀριθμῶν παρασημειούμενος καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους σχέσεις καὶ ὡς τὰ πλεῖστα ἀναλογία τινὶ ἀριθμῶν ὑποπέπτωκεν, τὴν γε οὐ μετρικὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς θεωρῶν [καὶ ἐθύμομένος συνέχεις τι διάστημα νοεῖ] καὶ οὐσίαν ἀμετάβλητον ἐτέραν τῶνδε τῶν σωμάτων οὖσαν, ἐκ τε αὐτῆς ἀστρονομίας γῆθεν αἰωρούμενός τε τῷ νῷ συνυψωθήσεται οὐρανῷ καὶ τῇ περιφορῇ συμπεριπολήσεται. The clause which I have bracketed is out of place and interrupts the order of thought. It refers to music, as we may infer from the technical term διάστημα, and should be inserted after διώκων, reading νοεῖν for νοεῖ. Compare § 88 below, where the use of music is treated more at length, and mention is made of τὸ ἐναρμόνιον and τὸ διάτονον γένος ; of which latter Vitruvius says (v. 4) Diatonos vero modulatio, quod naturalis est, facilior est intervallorum distantia. The verb προσανάκειται in the former sentence will then become the principal verb for the whole, and we must put a comma, instead of a full stop, after λαμβάνων. For τὴν γεωμετρικὴν read <εν (lost after preceding κεν) δὲ> τῇ γεωμετρικῇ. Remove τε from after αἰωρούμενος and put it after συνυψωθήσεται.

Ib. τῇ διαλεκτικῇ προσχρήσεται δ γνωστικὸς τὴν εἰς εἴδη τῶν γενῶν ἐκλεγόμενος διάρεσιν. Should we read ἐκδεχόμενος ?

§ 81, p. 780. εἰ δὲ τοιάντη παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἡ πίστις... ἵνα λυθῇ πιθανολογίᾳ, λυθήτω διὰ τούτους μάλιστα ὀμολογούντων οὐχ ἔξειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. 'If their faith is so weak as to be overthrown by mere plausibilities, let it be overthrown for their own sakes : let them confess (or should we 'read ὀμολογούντας "confessing" ?) that they have not got hold of the truth.' Put a colon after μάλιστα and change ἔξειν to ἔχειν.

Ib. τράπεζαν οὐκ ἔχει τὴν τῶν ἀργυραμοιβῶν οὐδὲ μὴν τὸ κριτήριον τὸν λόγον. I prefer τῶν λόγον the reading of a late MS. Right reason tests fallacious statements or arguments (the πιθανολογία spoken of above, the ἀπατηλοὶ and πανούργους λόγοι spoken of below) as the money-changer tests coin.

Ib. κέκραγεν δὲ ὁ Δαβὶδ ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα οὐ σαλευθήσεται δίκαιος. οὐτ' οὐν ἀπατηλῷ λόγῳ οὐδὲ μὴν πεπλανημένῃ ἥδοντι. Remove the stop after δίκαιος. Just below ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς πανούργους δε δε εἰς εταὶ λόγους διαγνῶνται τούτους δυνάμενος ἡ πρὸς τε τὸ ἐρωτῶν ὅρθως καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι. For δεδείξεται read δέξεται with I.B. l.c. p. 216, and omit η.

§ 84. μηρύεσθαι τούτην τοὺς Ἀβραὰμ οἰκείους εἰναι κατὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν, τοὺς τῷ σημείῳ καὶ τῷ ὄντι μετεπεφευγότας, κυρίους γενονέται

τῶν αἰχμαλωτιζόντων. Omit εἶναι, translating 'it is signified therefore that those who belonged to Abraham in the way of salvation, those who had taken refuge with the sign of the cross and the Name, became lords of the enslavers.'

§ 86, p. 783. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τετράγωνα ἔνδα τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα πάντη βεβηκέναι ὅρθας γωνίας ἐπιτελοῦν τὸ ἀσφαλὲς δηλοῦ, καὶ μῆκος μὲν τριακόσιοι πήχεις τοῦ κατασκευάσματος, πλάτος δὲ ν', βάθος δὲ λ'. As ἐπιτελοῦν is required to govern ἔνδα, it seems necessary to insert εἰς or πρὸς before ὅρθας. Should not we read πλάτος and βάθος to correspond with μῆκος? The case would easily be altered after κατασκευάσματος. Also put a full stop after δηλοῦ.

§ 90, p. 785. τὸν θεὸν δοξάζοντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχόντων τῶν ἀνθρωπίων ἀπολάύσουν δωρεὰ τῶν τε εἰς τὴν τοῦ σώματος τὸν τε εἰς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αἴξουν τροφῶν ἀδίως ἐπιχορηγηθήσαντες, or else insert ὡς after ἀδίως, and a comma after τροφῶν. [Perhaps ἀδίως may be a corruption of ἀξίων. I.B.]

§ 93, p. 786. Put a full stop after παραλαβών (D. p. 195, 1).

§ 94, p. 787. τὴν δὲ ἀνὰ τὸν κλιδῶνα τὸν ἔννικὸν γεννωμένην τε καὶ φερομένην φιλοσοφίαν Ἑλλητικὴν οἱ ἰχθύες ἔμηνον, εἰς διατροφὴν ἐκτενὴ τοῖς ἐτὶ χαμαὶ κεμένους διδόμενοι. Put a full stop before τὴν δέ, and a colon after διδόμενοι. For ἐκτενῇ read ἐγγενῆ, philosophy was the natural food of the Greeks, as fish to sailors.

§ 95, p. 788. σωφροσύνη γὰρ καὶ φρόντιστις ἐκδιδάσκει δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀνδρείαν ὃν χρησμώτερον οὐδέν. Read, as in the original (*Sap. Sol.* viii. 6), σωφροσύνην and φρόντιστις and put a comma after ἐκδιδάσκει. The subject is ἡ πάρη ήμῶν σοφία, which has just before been said to be the source of the four cardinal virtues.

§ 96, p. 788. (Adam) τέλειος κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν οὐκ ἔγενετο, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιτίθεοις: [διαφέρει γὰρ δή ποι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν γεγονέαν ἐπιτίθεοιν πρὸς τὴν κτῆσιν αὐτῆς, ἡμῶς δὲ ἐκ μῶν αὐτῶν βούλεται σώματον. αὐτὴ οὖν φύσις ψυχῆς ἐξ ἀντῆς ὅρμαν.] εἰ τα λογικοὶ ὄντες λογικῆς οὐσῆς τῆς φιλοσοφίας συγγενέες τι ἔχομεν πρὸς αὐτὴν, η δὲ ἐπιτίθεστης φορὰ μὲν ἐστι πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ἀρετὴ δ' οὐ. πάντες μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, πρὸς ἀρετῆς κτῆσιν πεφύκασιν. For οὖν read γοῦν, for εἴτη perhaps γῆ καὶ. Place the words in brackets after ἀρετὴ δ', and put a full stop after πρὸς αὐτὴν.

§ 100, p. 790. αὐτῷ γὰρ καθ' αὐτὰς ἐπὶ ἵστησι ψυχαῖ. αἱ ψυχαὶ οὐδέτεραι οὐτε ἄρρενες οὐτε θῆλεαι ἐπὶ τὸν μῆτρας γαμίσται μῆτρες γαμίσ-

ται. Omit ψυχαὶ and remove the full stop, put commas after οὐδέτεραι and θῆλεαι, and a full stop after γαμίσκωνται instead of Dindorf's comma.

§ 101, p. 791. ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἡ ποιῆσαι, οὖν ἔσται, εἰδὼς, τοῦτο ἐπήνεστον ὁ ἔγενετο, δυνάμει πιοι ὑντος καλὸν ἀνοθεν διὰ τῆς ἀνάρχου προθέσεως τὸ ἐσόμενον ἐνεργεῖα καλὸν. αὐτικα τὸ ἐσόμενον ἥδη προέπειν εἶναι καλὸν [τῷ] τῆς φράσεως ὑπερβατῷ κρυψάσης τὴν ἀλλοθεαν. For ποιοῦντος read ποιῶν. The genitive could only be explained as governed by δυνάμει, but this, being opposed to the following ἐνεργείᾳ, has an adverbial force 'potentially.' [Omit τῷ, which was inserted by Sylburg. I.B.]

§ 102, p. 791. εὐχεταὶ... πᾶσαν τὴν ὥραν. Should not τὴν be omitted? [I.B. would explain it thus: 'the γνωστικὸς prays in thought also and is thus during the whole time of prayer (πᾶσαν τὴν ὥραν) in close relation with God.' I think however this hardly comes up to what we are told in vii. 854, where he is said to pray παρὰ δλον τὸν βίον in contrast to those who have set hours of prayer. In p. 878 the word ὥρα seems to be used for man's allotted time on earth, καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον τὸν βίον δλίγον τι τῆς ὥρας περὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἀσχοληθῆ, χρεωκοπεῖσθαι οἴεται.]

Ib. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀφεστιν ἀμαρτιῶν αἰτήσεται, μετὰ δὲ τὸ μηκέτι ἀμαρτάνειν ἐπὶ τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν δύνασθαι. For ἐπὶ τὸ read ἐπειτα, and put a comma after ἀμαρτάνειν. A little below put a full stop after προσευχῆς.

§ 106, p. 793. δέ η αἰτίαν τὸ μεσότοιχον αἴρεται τὸ διορίζον τὸν Ἰουδαίον τὸν Ἑλλαῖαν [εἰς περιουσίου λαὸν]. (§ 107) καὶ οὕτως ἀμφω εἰς τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς πόστεως κατατῶσιν, καὶ η εξ ἀμφοῦ ἐκλογὴ μία καὶ τὸν ἐκλεκτῶν, φησίν, ἐκλεκτότεροι οἱ κ.τ.λ. The words in brackets are out of place and should be inserted after μία. Put a comma at the end of § 106, and a full stop after μία.

§ 110, p. 795. οἱ δὲ καὶ ταύτη γενόμενοι τῇ ἐντολῇ ἀγνώμονες γλυπτοῖς προσεσχηκότες ἀγάλμασι, καὶ μὴ μετανοησώσατο, κρίνονται. C. is here speaking of the worship of the stars as a rudimentary form of religion, intended to lead up to the true worship of God. Those who abandon this lower form for mere idolatry are punished, unless they repent. Put a comma after ἀγνώμονες.

§ 112, p. 796. οὐ μόνον ἐν πολέμοις ἀγνώμονται οἱ πολέμων ἀδηληταὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν συμποσίοις... αἰχμάλωτοι γενέσθαι ἡδονῆς αἰσχυνόμενοι, οὐ μὴ ποτ' ἀν ἀρετὴν ἀλλάξωμαι ἀντ' ἀδίκου κέρδους. Put a full stop after αἰσχυνόμενοι. Sylburg is probably right in reading τῷ τὸν for ποτ' ἀν.

§ 114, p. 798. (The divine likeness in man is not that of form) ἄθεος γάρ ηδε εἴ φορία οὐδὲ μὴν η κατ' ἀρετὴν...ἀσεβῆς γάρ ηδε η ἔκδοσις. The word ἔφορία has no place here: perhaps we should read ηδε η ἔπιφορά. [In this I am anticipated by I.B. l.c. p. 416.]

§ 115, p. 798. ἐπεὶ μὴ τῶν ἔχων μόνων θηρίων κατακυρεύειν ἐτάγμην ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἄγριων παθῶν. For μόνων read μόνον.

§ 117, p. 799. Put a full stop, instead of a comma, between ἐμηνίσαμεν and αὐτίκα.

§ 118, p. 799. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀγρίας εἰκαζόμενος ἀλλά πολὺ τὸ ἀπέκτον ἔχων διὰ τὸ εἶναι ζητητικὸς...καὶ δρεκτικὸς τῆς πιότητος τῆς ἀληθείας, ...τῇ χρηστῇ καὶ ἡμέρῳ κατὰ τα φυτεύεις γίνεται. Put a comma before διὰ τὸ εἶναι and read ἐγκαταφυτεύεις (as in *Protr.* p. 13) for καταφυτεύεις.

§ 120, p. 800. τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα ταῦτη πως μεταφυτεύεται διανεγκατεῖται καὶ εν εμηνίσαμεν κατὰ τὴν ἔκστον περιγραφὴν ἀπεριγράφως. Put a comma after μεταφυτεύεται and read διανεγκατεῖται.

§ 121, p. 800. εἴτα ἐπιλέγει τὴν τελεωτάτην ἀγάπτην παρατιθέμενος διὰ λόγου συλλογιστικοῦ καὶ ληγμάτων ἀληθῶν ἀποδεικτικωτάτην διὰ θῆδε πως ἐπάγων ἔπιφοράν. Put a comma after μεταφυτεύεται and read ἀληθῶν for ἀληθῆ.

§ 122, p. 801. σημεῖον δὲ...αἱ τε προηγούμεναι τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ προφητεῖαι...αἱ τε...περὶ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρίαι, πρὸ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν κηρυσσόμεναι τε καὶ ἐμφανῶς δεικνύμεναι δινάμεις αὐτοῦ. Insert αἱ between καὶ and μετά.

§ 125, p. 803. η δικαιοσύνη ἀνθρωπίνη ὅστα κοινὸν ὑποβέβηκε τῇ ὀσιότητι θείαν δικαιοσύνην πάραχμεν...ἐπειτα μηδὲ τοῖς ἀπασι προσήκοντι νοεῖν. Insert ἐπεὶ after ἐπειτα, which will explain the use of μηδέ.

Ib. ὁ κύριος οὐκ ὅν κοσμικὸς ὁς κοσμικὸς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἥλθεν, καὶ γὰρ ἔφορεσσεν τὴν πάσαν ἀρετήν. The word φορέω is ordinarily used of assuming something which does not properly belong to one, and could hardly be joined here with ἀρετήν. Can the latter have taken the place of such a word as ἀσθένειαν or ἀνθρωπότητα;

§ 127, p. 804. η οἰκονομία πᾶσα η περὶ τὸν κύριον...παραβολὴ ὡς ἀληθῶς φαίνεται τοῖς μηδὲ τὴν ἀληθειαν ἔγνωκόσιν, ὅταν τις τὸν νίὸν τοῦ

θεοῦ...σάρκα ἀνειληφότα καὶ...πεπονθότα καὶ ἀνεσταμένον, ὁ μὲν λέγει, οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες. Read λέγη and ἀκούωσιν after ὅταν.

οἱ προφῆται πάντες...ἔφονεύθησαν, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος διασαρφήσας αὐτὸν τὸν τὸν γραφάς. For αὐτὸν read αὐτῶν.

§ 128, p. 804. (In the prophets we read the whole story of Christ) καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνάληψιν...καθὼς ἔγεραττο. ταῦτα πάντα ἀδεῖ αὐτὸν παθέν. Remove the stop after ἔγεραττο.

§ 129, p. 805. (Speaking of the symbolical language of Scripture, Clement says that this has been imitated among the Greeks by an affected obscurity arising out of their use of certain rhetorical figures) πλὴν ἐκουσίον τῆς παρατροπῆς παρά τι ὄρθον ἐμμέτρῳ η σχέδιο φράσει γνομένης δείκνυται. A subject is wanted for the verb; perhaps some such phrase as τὸ κατασκευαστὸν has been lost, as we have κατασκεῦη ἔνεκα just below.

§ 132, p. 806. τὸν Μωϋσέα ἀναλαμβανόμενον διττὸν εἶδεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναοῦ, καὶ τὸν μὲν μετ' ἀγγέλων, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρη περὶ τὰς φάραγγας κρέδεις ἀξιούμενον. I think we should read τῷ δρεῖ, taking it with ἀξιούμενον.

§ 137, p. 810. τρίτος δέ ἐστι λόγος. But it is the 4th commandment which is spoken of, and in § 146, p. 816 we have the correct order δέ πέμπτος ἐξῆς ἐστὶ λόγος περὶ τημῆς πατρὸς καὶ μητρός. A little above we read δέ εὐτέρος δέ ἐμήνυεν λόγος μὴ δεῖν λαμβάνειν μηδὲ ἐπιφέρειν τὸ μεγαλεῖον κράτος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα...τοίτον τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μὴ φέρειν ἐπὶ τὰ γεννητὰ καὶ μάταια, ἀ δὴ οἱ τεχνῖται τῶν ἀνθρώπων πεποιήκασι, where the 2nd commandment, which condemns idolatry, seems to be included in the 3rd (οὐδὲν μηδὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ ματαίῳ), not in the 1st, as Dindorf maintains. Should we insert καὶ τρίτος after δεύτερος, and change τρίτος into τέταρτος?

§ 138, p. 810. η ἐβδόμη τοίνυν ἡμέρα ἀντιπατεῖται κηρύσσεται ἀ ποχὴ κακῶν ἐπομάζουσα τὴν ἀρχέγονον ἡμέραν, τὴν τῷ ὄντι ἀνάπαντων ἡμῶν, ἣν δὴ καὶ πρώτην τῷ ὄντι φωτὸς γένεσιν. Put a comma after κηρύσσεται and read ἀποχῆ. There is no government for η. Perhaps we should insert after πρώτην <νομίζουει, τὴν τοῦ>.

§ 140, p. 811. The number 7 is symbolical of heaven where they neither marry nor are given in marriage οὐτε γὰρ ἐκ τυνος ἀριθμοῦ ἐπί τινα λαμβάνουσι γίνεται ὁ ἐπτά, οὐτε ἐπί τινα ληφθεῖς ἀποτελεῖ τῶν ἐντὸς τῆς δωδεκάδος ἐκάτερον. As Clement is following Philo (*Leg. All.* i. p. 43 η δέ γε ἐβδόμης οὐτε γεννᾶ τινα τῶν ἐντὸς δεκάδος οὐτε γεννάται ὑπό τυνος), Potter and Dindorf read δεκάδος for δωδεκάδος. It would seem

necessary also to change *έκάτερον* into *τινά*. Possibly *έκάτερον* is a relic of some such phrase as *έκάτερον ἀμοιρος ὡν*, 'having no participation in either marrying or being given in marriage.' The use of *λαμβάνειν* with *ἐτί* in the sense of 'to multiply' is not, so far as I know, noticed in any lexicon.

§ 142, p. 813. αἱ μὲν γάρ κατὰ τὰς διαφόρους ἴμερας δημιουργίαι ἀκόλουθοι εἰσὶ τηγανίστησαν. Read ἀκολονθίαι μεγιστρην.

§ 147, p. 816. φόνος δὲ ζερσίς ἐστι βεβαία, the two being often confused in MSS.

§ 150, p. 818. οὐκον ποτὲ τὰς ἐπὶ μέρους ἀληθείας...αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν πολυπραγμονητέον, οὐκ ὄντος ζητοῦντος οὐτε εἰς μαθεῖν. Read ζητοῦντας governed by πολυπραγμονητέον (= δεῖ πολυπραγμονεῖν).

Ib. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀντιληπτοῖς καὶ μὴ κυρθέσται πρὸς γνῶσιν οὐ πιστεύεται ὁ λόγος. Potter reads <οὐκ> ἀντιληπτικοῦ omitting οὐ before πιστεύεται, translating *his igitur qui non sunt ad percipiendum apti neque ad cognitionem moventur creditur verbum*; but this is not in accordance with the words which follow, ἀντιληφτικοῦ δὲ νοερὰ πίστεως ἔχεται, and again τῷ πίστεως εἰληφότοι τὸ γνῶσεως μεταλαβεῖν οἰκεῖον πέφυκεν. I should be inclined to suggest that the true reading is (the otherwise unknown) ἀντιληπτικοῦ.

§ 152, p. 819. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὁν ὁ θεος διὰ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς κτίσεως ἀπάντησι σώσθειν βουλόμενον τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὸ ποιεῖν ἐτράπετο καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, πρώτην ταῦτην εὐεργεσίαν, τὸ γενέσθαι, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς παρασχῶν αὐτοῖς, ἀμεινον εἶναι πολλῷ τὸ εἶναι τοῦ μὴ εἶναι πᾶς ἀν τις διολογίσειν, ἔπειτα ὡς ἐνεδέχετο φύσεως ἔχειν ἔκαστον ἐγένετο τε καὶ γίνεται πρόκοπον εἰς τὸ αὐτῷ ἀμεινον. Put commas after ἀπάντησι and τοῦτο, and again before ἐγένετο and after γίνεται, and a colon before the first ἀμεινον (after which insert γάρ), and ἔπειτα.

§ 153, p. 819. ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν τρίχες ἡρίθμηνται καὶ τὰ εὐτελῆ κινήματα, φιλοσοφία δὲ πῶς οὐν ἐν λόγῳ; Is this C.'s way of alluding to the fall to the ground of things which sell at two for a farthing, or should we insert *στρονθίων* after εὐτελῆ? [Perhaps κτίματα should take the place of κινήματα, I.B.]

P. 820. ἡ πρόνοια ἄγωθεν ἐκ τῶν προηγούμενων καθάπερ κεφαλῆς εἰς πάντας δίγκει, ὡς τὸ μύρον, φῆσι, τὸ καταβαῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν πώγωνα τὸν Ἀαρὼν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ὥστην τοῦ ἐνδύματος αὐτοῦ...οὐ καὶ εἰς τὸν σώματος κόσμον, ἔξθεν δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ φιλοσοφία καθάπερ ἐσθῆσ. Read τοῦ (for τὸν) Ἀαρὼν. Omit οὐκ: the ointment was to adorn the body, though it also ran down on the coat.

§ 154, p. 820. οἱ τοίνυν φιλόσοφοι...ἐπάν μὴ μέρος φιλοσοφίας ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτοτελῶς φιλοσοφίαν πολυπραγμονῶσι...καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐπερδόδοις ἐπὶ τῶν καλῶς εἰργμένον προκόπτωσιν εἰς τὴν σύνεσιν, κατὰ τὴν θείαν διοίκησιν...τὴν ἐκάστοτε εἰς τὸ ἀμεινον κατὰ τὸ ἔγχωρον προσαγομένην τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν, ἔπειτα οὐχ Ἐλλησι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάροις ὅμιλογαστερε...εἰς σύνεσιν ἰδίαν ἔγονται. Put a colon after φύσιν and ἔγονται. Read ἀπὸ for ἐπὶ and προκόπτωσιν for προκόπτωσιν. The mood would be naturally altered owing to a misunderstanding of the use of καν.

§ 157, p. 822. διόπερ κοινὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μέν ἔστιν καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ τῶν προτερημάτων, γίνεται δὲ ὅμως ὀφέλημα μόνον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. The MS. has another μέν after κοινά, which Dindorf omits after Hoeschel. I should prefer to keep it there, as it makes a better opposition to γίνεται, changing the second μέν to τε.

§ 159, p. 823. It is contrary to reason to regard Satan as the author of philosophy, κινδυνεύει γάρ εὑμενέστερος τοῖς Ἐλλησιν εἰς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας γεγονέναι τῆς θείας προνοίας. Read τὸ for τούς.

Ib. ναὶ μὴν ἡ χρῆσις τῆς φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἔστιν ἀν κακῶν, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν Ἐλλήνων δέδοται. δῆλον καὶ ὅθεν δεδώρηται, παρὰ τῆς...προνοίας. The words from οὐκ ἔστιν το δέδοται should be marked as parenthetical, χρῆσις being the subject of δεδώρηται. Read ἔστι γάρ for ἔστιν ἀν, and put a comma after δέδοται. A little below, Ιονδαῖος μὲν νόμος, Ἐλλησι δε φιλοσοφία μέχρι τῆς παρονοίας, ἐτείθεν δὲ ἡ κλῆσις ἡ καθολική. Put a colon after καθολική.

§ 160, p. 824. τρίτος δέ ἔστιν τρόπος ὁ κατὰ πρόσταξιν ὀπτόν ὁ παιδοτριβῆς...προστάτης τοῦ εἴτε ὄντος τὸ πάλαισμα. Should we not read προστάτη;

§ 162, p. 825. εἴ πως ἔχειν μοι φαίνεται ὁ λόγος ἐκείνος, εἰ φιλοσοφητέον [αὐτὸν γάρ τι αὐτῷ ὁ ἀκολούθει] ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μὴ φιλοσοφητέον. Put the clause in brackets at the end, and read αὐτόθεν τὸ αὐτό for αὐτὸν γάρ τι αὐτῷ.

§ 165, p. 826. ἀλλ' οὐν ἐχέγγυοι διδάσκαλοι περὶ θεοῦ λέγοντες ἀνθρώπους οὐ γάρ δεξιόχρεώς γε ἀνθρώπος τε ὁν καὶ περὶ θεοῦ τάληθή λέγεν. Omit τε and transfer γε into its place.

§ 166, p. 826. εἰθ' ὁ μὴ περὶ αὐτοῦ τάληθή λέγειν δυνάμενος ἀρ' οὐ πλέον οὐδὲ τὰ περὶ θεοῦ πιστεύεος; Perhaps πολύ should be inserted before πλέον.

Ib. ὡς ἀν τοῦ κυρίου ἥκοντος εἰς ἀνθρώπους, τοῦ δι δάξιν τος ἡμᾶς, μυρίοι σημάντορες. Read διδάξοντος.

§ 167, p. 827. πόρρωθεν προμελετᾶ ὁ νόμος

καὶ ἡ προφητεία, ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ πρόδρομος δεικνυτοί τὸν παρόντα, μεθ' ὃν οἱ κύρικες τῆς ἐπιφανείας τὴν δύναμιν ἐκδιάσκοντες μηνύοντιν μόνοις καὶ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀπασιν ἡρεσαν, ἀλλὰ Πλάτων μὲν Σωκράτης κ.τ.λ. It is evident that something has been lost before μόνοις. Hervetus supplies *<οἱ φιλόσοφοι τοῖς Ἑλλησι>*. Adopting this, I should prefer to end the sentence with μηνύοντιν, and insert δὲ before φιλόσοφοι.

§ 168, p. 827. τοὺς δὲ τοῦ παντοκράτορος προφήτας θεοῦ οὐκ ἀν τις καταπλαγέν ὅργανα θείας γενομένης φωνῆς; So Dindorf after Klotz. Potter rightly reads γενομένους, which I take to be in accordance with the MS., as none of the editors has a note on it.

J. B. MAYOR.

(*To be continued.*)

GERMAN OPINION ON GREEK JUSSIVES.

(Continued from page 293.)

We have now arrived at the third of the three theories we set ourselves to propound, the latest to appear and probably that which is destined to prevail. Its most strenuous representative and clearest exponent is Dr. Ernst Koch. His views are to be found in the two last editions of his *School Grammar*, and also in a paper which appeared in the *Neue Jahrbücher* 1892. Strange to say Dr. Koch's *Tempuslehre* has not as yet met with the attention it deserves. The kernel of his system may be gathered from his brief description of the 'dreifache Beschaffenheit der Handlung' (*Griech. Gr.*¹⁴ § 95, page 215).

1. 'Die Präsensformen bezeichnen die Handlung als noch *nicht abgeschlossen*, so dass man wohl Anfang und Fortdauer, aber nicht das Ende sieht.'

2. 'Die Aoristformen bezeichnen die Handlung als *abgeschlossen*, so dass man sie von Anfang bis zu Ende überblicken kann.'

3. 'Die Perfektformen bezeichnen die Handlung in dem *Zustande des Abgeschlossenseins*.'¹

In other words 'not concluded,' 'concluded,' 'concluded the effects remaining' (*i.e.* state resulting from concluded action)—are the three aspects of an action expressed severally by present, aorist and perfect stems.

Here we find ourselves at length not only on *terra firma* but also on *terra cognita*. One naturally recalls certain tense-divisions with which scholars at home have familiarized us. Take for instance the system so perseveringly and consistently followed by Mr. Horton-Smith in his work on 'Conditional Sentences.' Present, past and future action is there described as being

either 'imperfect' or 'indefinite' or 'perfect the effects remaining.' A similar classification is now very common in English grammars, in which we read of 'incomplete,' 'indefinite'² or 'perfect' action in present, past or future time. Prof. Sonnenschein³ likewise lays down the principle that 'the present stem marks an action as *not completed*; the perfect as *completed*.' Thus from three independent sources of inquiry we get the same conclusion, viz. that the function of present stems is to mark 'incomplete,' 'imperfect,' 'not concluded' action.

Dr. Koch had alighted on the idea embodied in his tense-system while engaged on a study of Russian during his occupation of a professorial chair at Moscow. By one of those coincidences common in all sciences my friend Mr. de Dunin-Borkowski had arrived at practically identical conclusions simultaneously with Dr. Koch, and he too drew his inspiration from a comparative study of the Greek and Slavonic verb. Certainly a few years ago he was teaching a somewhat similar rule which he gradually formulated as follows: *Der Conj. Optat. Imper. und Infinitiv Präsens drückt aus dass der Sprechende an die Entwicklung der Handlung denkt, oder wenigstens an ihre Wirklichkeit*,⁴ ohne Rücksicht auf

¹ This being a mere translation of *ἀόριστος* may mean anything or nothing. Horton-Smith defines it as denoting 'merely a single act.' Somewhat differently the old Greek grammarian: δὲ ἀόριστος οὐδὲν ὄρισμένον χρόνον ἔμφαλει (Bekker's *Anecd.* 889), probably with reference to the *Modi* which, as we know, are timeless.

² Syntax § 462, 489.

³ From a grammatical point of view the ideas of existence and state may be classed under action 'evolving itself,' inasmuch as they mark something going on.

¹ See also *ib.* pages 216—219.

ihren Abschluss. Der Conj. etc. Aorist drückt aus dass der Sprechende an eine in irgend einem Teil abgeschlossene Handlung denkt.

Mr. de Borkowski rightly emphasizes the positive side of the present stem function. The present stem marks the *evolution*¹ of the action; it represents it as *evolving itself*, as in process of development, as something going on or in progress, without reference to its conclusion. From the negative point of view such action may be styled 'imperfect,' 'incomplete,' inasmuch as the *end* is left out of sight. It may be a matter of minor moment and indeed even of words, which definition, positive or negative, is preferred. If a choice has to be made,² the former seems to me preferable for many reasons, but especially because it is the best substitute for what has hitherto been the prevailing brand attached to present stems—that namely of 'duration.'

Action in process of evolution or development necessarily implies *some* time. It cannot do otherwise as it connotes succession. But the *length* of the time thus implied is altogether immaterial; it may and ought to be left out of consideration. The development or evolution of an action may extend over years, days, seconds or only the fraction of a second. Actual duration may be of imperceptible extension or considerably protracted. In either case the present stem is applicable because it marks not precisely duration but action evolving itself.

Here appears the element of truth which I have admitted to be latent in the 'duration' theory, namely that every action in process of development is coterminous with time. Its falseness lies in this that it implicitly attributes *length of time* to the present stem and appropriates *momentary* action to the aorist, which is not the case as often as the momentary act is represented or conceived as evolving itself.

In confirmation of the theory now under

¹ This is not the first time we hear of evolution or *Entwickelung* in connection with the function of present stems. Koch used the word in the 8th edition of his *Grammar* § 998. 1. It occurs also in Curtius-Hartel (ed. 19, § 194. 1) and in Kaegi 2nd ed. § 187. 1. This term was however often erroneously identified with that of duration. The two ideas are carefully kept apart in Goldbacher, *Lat. Gr.* § 387, 394, Koch 14 Aufl. § 98. 1.

² Many passages are forthcoming from Attic Greek which are more readily explained if looked at in the light of the negative portion of the definition above given. Koch in applying his general rule to the indicative mood (§ 98) makes use also of the term 'sich entwickelnd.'

discussion I may here quote one of the foremost Demosthenic authorities in Germany, the editor of the 3rd edition of Kühner's larger work on Greek Grammar, Fr. Blass. In an article entitled 'Demosthenische Studien III. (Aor. und Imperf.)'³ this scholar has made an exhaustive study of aor. and imperf. as used by Demosthenes. He there details with great minuteness the various uses of these two tenses. Everywhere he speaks of the imperfect (or present) as expressing some form of 'unvollendete Handlung'⁴ and an analysis of the various subdivisions given, points to 'action evolving itself' as the idea pervading all. Nowhere in this article does he speak of 'eintretende Handlung' as being peculiar to the aorist. On the contrary he has such statements as the following: 'Während... beim Aor. nichts als Vollendung und Erfolg bezeichnet ist,' page 409; by which he means nothing more than 'concluded action,' as may be gathered from another passage, page 429: 'Man vergleiche die oben aufgestellten Regeln 1-5... und man wird damit den Umfang des Gebrauchs für das Imperf. für ziemlich umgrenzt ansehen dürfen, mit Ausnahme eines Gebietes. Wenn nämlich nun der Aor. im Gegensatz hierzu die Vollendung ausdrückt, und auch die Dauer bis zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkte, der das Geschehen abschließt....' This means no more than that the aorist refers to an action which has lasted and is *concluded*.

In his preface to his 14th ed. Dr. Koch informs us that Prof. Kohn and Oberschulrat Hultsch have arrived at conclusions similar to his own. If however one is to judge from Mr. Shuckburgh's notice of Hultsch's 'erzählenden Zeitformen bei Polybios' (*Class. Rev.* March 1895), where the latter is reported to describe the aorist as 'dauerlos,' one is rather inclined to think that Hultsch still adheres to the old teaching of 'Momentane Handlung.' How would Hultsch explain such sentences as *ἐπανθέτης τρέψης ημέρας*? No doubt like Prof. Brugmann he would get out of the difficulty by saying 'dass man sich die Handlung in einem ungeteiltem Denkakt ganz und vollständig, in sich abgeschlossen,

³ *Rhein. Mus.* N. F. 44 Bd. (1889), page 406—430.

⁴ In *Synt. Forsch. v. Allind. Syntax* (p. 277) Delbrück's description of present stem function is very similar to the one here propounded: Der Praesentstamm dient, wie in den andern Sprachen dazu, eine vor sich gehende Handlung zu bezeichnen. This is our 'action going on.'

absolut vorstellen sollte.¹ Such mental gymnastics become indeed a necessity if the 'Momentary' theory is to be retained.

We are now in a position to apply the foregoing principles to Imperative and Subjunctive Jussives. The perfect we again set aside, all being agreed that it marks the state resulting from concluded action. I shall therefore content myself with putting forward one or two proofs to show that pres. and aor. have here their stem meaning of action evolving itself and action concluded.

1. In the first place comes the argument from Comparative Grammar. In the Slavonic languages, notably in Polish, the verb has two forms usually called perfect (*dokonany*) and imperfect (*niedokonany*). Their use in the imperative moods seems to correspond exactly with that of the present and aorist of the Greeks. The 'imperfect' marks the action as evolving itself, the 'perfect' as concluded. This fact has been pointed out as regards Russian by Dr. Koch. Mr. de Borkowski² has kindly placed at my disposal a long list of parallels in Greek and Polish from which I select the following³ :

στέλλε (πέμπε)	posylaj	}
στέλλον (πέμψων)	poszlij	
ἀρχον	zaczynaj	
ἀρξαι	zaczniij	
αἴρον	wybieraj	
ἔλον	wybierz	
βάλλε	rzucaj	
βάλε	rzu	
τελεύτα	koncz	
τελεύτησον	skończ	
σώπα	milcz	
σώπησον	umilcz	
δέδον	dawaj	
δός	daj	

2. If any one will take the pains to look over the various groups of examples cited in my last paper (*C.R.* April), he will find that the theory propounded explains each and every instance. When, for example, utterance is given to the command *ἀποκρίνου* one thinks of the reply as in process of execution; one sees, so to speak, the lips in motion; there is the phantasm

¹ Brugmann, § 159.

² I may here once and for all express my indebtedness to Mr. de Dunin-Borkowski, to whose many suggestions this paper owes whatever it possesses of value.

³ Our argument is from the actual syntactical force of these forms in modern Polish, whatever be their genesis.

of an answer *being made* and attention is not fixed on the thing done, answer given. So too *καράβαι* evokes the mental image, of somebody *getting down*, whereas *κάραβα* rather corresponds to our expression 'get down' with the distinct vision of descent accomplished.⁴ It may here be objected that the rule I am substituting is as subjective as the one combated. It must certainly be admitted that *the same action*—especially in commands and prohibitions where execution follows—may be considered equally well as 'evolving itself' or as 'concluded.' It would thus seem to be left to the whim of the speaker which form he shall select. Quite so and of necessity: but then the theory in its present shape supplies the speaker with an *objective criterion*, whereas besides leaving choice of form to his discretion, the 'momentary' theory supplied him with a purely *subjective criterion*—by which to make his selection. Action *evolving itself* as opposed to *concluded* action offers a distinction based on objective reality; not so 'continuous and momentary' which shift their meaning according to the actions compared, as indeed they must do, being relative terms based on external not internal quality of action.

3. Whatever truth is to be found in the rival theory is all compressed into that here set forth. If it be true for instance, as Prof. Goodwin says, that the present stem marks action in its *duration*, *a fortiori* does it mark action *evolving itself*. Only beware: the evolution of the action may be *momentary* and then it must still have a present stem, so long as the end is left out of sight.

4. Many grammarians even among those whose views differ in some points from what is here put forward practically teach the same doctrine. Thus Prof. Sonnenschein dealing with Jussives says that 'the present imperative or subjunctive marks the action as *going on* or *habitual*.' Save that habitual action is not clearly set forth as merely derivative from the stem function, 'action evolving itself,' the professor's canon is exactly mine. Again Dr. Clyde in commenting on *ἀναγίνωσκε* writes: 'the reading is represented as a *process*, and on δός...ιν'

⁴ A good illustration of the two idioms is the following. A headmaster calls up a boy and says: 'sit down and write a letter to your father.' He has before his mind the actual writing; he would use *γράψε*. Another time he sends for the same boy and says: 'Go write to your father'; he would use *γράψων*. In the latter case the executed task is thought of; in the former the writing pictures itself as going on before his eyes.

ἀναγνῶ: 'end-view of the reading.' Elsewhere unfortunately he falls back on the old trade-mark 'single and momentary.' It is quite evident that all these scholars have themselves a very keen appreciation of the difference between present and aorist, but to me they seem less felicitous in clearly expressing their clearly conceived ideas.¹

It should here be noticed that every individual action whether 'evolving itself' or 'concluded' is properly designated 'single' in so far as it is isolated from other kinds of action. The opposite of 'single' is, I take it, multiple (*i.e.* double, treble, etc.). The words *ἐκβαῖνε καὶ ἀκοντον* indicate double successive action; *ἀριστοποιούμενος ἀναγγύνωσκω* marks double simultaneous action. It is, however, perhaps possible to split up any act in process of evolution into a series of partial actions, somewhat as a straight line may be divided into points. Such a proceeding, call it arbitrary or not, will never prevent persons of ordinary common sense from regarding *ἐκβαίνω*, *ἀκοντό*, *ἀποκρίνομαι* as so many *single acts*. Moreover the suggested analysis may be pushed a step further and each of the divided partial acts may in turn be regarded as *processes, et sic in infinitum*.

Again, all acts, be they processes or concluded (occurrences), are *transient*: for they pass away and the circumstance that the time of one is or was longer than that of another does not detract from their transitory character. The conclusion is inevitable, viz. 'single' and 'transient' are terms which ought to be banished from our tense-system.

Every rule has its exceptions, not excepting that governing the use of imperatives.

1. It has been pointed out by almost all who have theorized on the difference between present and aorist imperatives that in practice this difference very often scarcely makes itself felt. This is notably the case with *λέγε*, *εἰπέ* and the rather poetical *λέξον*. In Plato one often meets with *λέγε* addressed to the person actually discoursing to tell him 'go on,' but there are other instances where *λέγε* and *εἰπέ* are employed under apparently quite similar circumstances. The same may be said in

¹ Notice the danger of employing English formulae to represent the force of jussives and other constructions. Cf. Goodwin, *M. T.* § 87, *πολέτοντο* do this (habitually). It looks as if Prof. Goodwin limited the pres. imp. to habitual action! The bracketed 'habitually' throughout the paragraph is very misleading.

many instances in Plato of *σκοπώμεθα*, *σκεψώμεθα*.²

2. Again, many verbs have only one form in use; some possessing only the imperative present, others the perfect, *e.g.* *ἔρρωστο*. Thus *στρέχε* 'ascend,' 'climb,' stands by itself, and naturally so as the effort is most prominent in the action of mounting. The following occur only in the present *λεύσσετε*, *λάζσθε*, etc. It would be interesting to inquire if there be a Law of Parsimony regulating the use of present and aorist in virtue of which one stem, owing to its function being more appropriate, would be most in demand. At any rate we generally meet with *εὐφημέτε*, *χάρε*, *φεύγε*, *ἔρρε*: so too *μὴ μελλωμεν*, *μὴ μέλλετε*, *κλύετε*, *οἴμωζε* and the interjections *ἴθι*, *φέρε*, *ἄγε*. In Aristoph. *ἔλθε* mostly occurs in the sense of the imperative of *ἴκω*, come, whilst *ἴθι* = go.

With verbs marking effort recourse is naturally had to the present stem, cf. *περῶ εἰπεῖν* in Plato: so too *πειρᾶσθε*, *παρασκενάζεσθε* recur oftener than the aorist forms.

3. Another interesting matter for investigation would be the question how far metrical exigency affects the selection of aorist rather than present stems. That metre does affect the poet's choice is *a priori* probable and is in some cases undeniable. The selection between *λέγε*, *λέξον* and *εἰπέ* is very frequently determined by metre. In the following line *εἰπέ* and *λέγε* would be quite out of place:—

τί δῆτ' ἔχρογε λέξον εἰ θέμις κλύειν.
Med. 678.

Similar considerations seem often to guide Aristophanes in his choice of *φράσον*/(*φράζε*). On the other hand there are numerous examples where present and aorist have the same metrical value, *e.g.* *ἀκούετε*, *ἀκούσατε*. In such instances the principle of evolution versus concluded action holds.

A detailed application of the general principles here set forth to the specific cases of participles, optative and 'subjunctive', lies

² Hence Blass is too severe on O. Rieman when, criticizing the latter's admission that in a considerable number of passages there is no difference between pres. and aor., he goes on to comment: Dies Ergebnis ist, sollte ich meinen, einleuchtend falsch. Moreover Koch (*N. Jahr.* pg. 409 *sq.*) has shown that, in the case of many verbs, custom gave a preference to the use of one stem rather than the other. Thus in Xen. *An.* i.—iv. we find *νομίζω* used 7 times in *impf.*, in aor. once; *ἡγείσθαι* *impf.* 10, aor. 0; *βούλομαι* *impf.* 7, aor. 0. These phenomena however may be otherwise accounted for.

beyond the scope of the present inquiry. It will however not be amiss to point out how some of the more prominent idioms connected with the present and aorist indicative flow from the fundamental idea of action going on and concluded.

First, as regards the present forms :

1. Action 'evolving itself' naturally covers habitual action, the latter implying a something that is still going on, *not ended*. Thus we get the present and imperfect of habitual action.

2. Whatever is vividly pictured as enacting itself before our eyes comes under 'action evolving itself'—hence the historic present.

3. Vividness likewise accounts for the prophetic present so common in Aristophanes. In this, as in the previous case, the grammatical present is the more suitable as having no distinctive mark of time.

4. Such expressions as *ἐπεμψαν ἀγγέλλοντας* (instead of *ἀγγελοῦντας*) may be justified on similar grounds. Literally 'they sent persons announcing'; the time, which is colourless in the participle, being left to be gathered from the context. Again *πάρων ἐρῶ* 'being present (in past time) I shall tell.' The time of *πάρων* is *per se* present, past, or future, and has to be inferred from the context.

5. What grammarians term *conative* action is usually nothing more than a disposition to *activity*. Now the nearest approach to this idea lies in the stem which marks action in process of development. Hence the *Praesens de Conatu* and *Imperf. de Conatu*, e.g. *Io. xiii. 7 σύ μον νίπτεις τοὺς*

πόδας and *ἔδιδον* of Demosth. 'he was for giving.'¹

6. If we take the verb *νικῶ* it strictly represents no more than 'I a-conquering,' which truth may endure after actual victory, so that *νικῶ* may stand for 'I am conqueror.'

Secondly, as regards the aorist :

1. It is obvious that 'concluded action' is well predicated of a stem which with its augment and personal endings serves to express :—

(a) Absolute past isolated events, (b) in narrative successive events, (c) relative priority of one occurrence with respect to another.

2. The inceptive aorist marks entrance into a state or entrance into action : in either case we have *something concluded i.e. the end of the beginning*.

3. The dramatic or conversational aorist (*Aoristus Tragicus*) seems to spring from Greek impatience and haste to mark something as done, e.g. approval *given* *ἐπήνεσα*, loathing *felt* *ἀπέπνυσα*. There being no affix or suffix wherewith to graft an aorist stem (concluded action) on present time, the only resource left is to employ the aorist stem in its only available shape, i.e. with augment.

J. DONOVAN.

¹ I think it is safe to say there exists no *Aoristus de Conatu* in Greek. Such examples as *Ion* 1291 *ἐκτεινά οὐντα πολέμου...* 1286 *νάρτας* *ἐκτεινεις οὐ φαρμάκους* do not refer to attempted murder but rather by a sort of figurative diction to murder accomplished as far as intention and means taken could effect it.

(To be continued.)

ON SOME PASSAGES OF JUVENAL.

VII. 175—177.

tempta

Chrysogonus quanti doceat uel Polio quanti lautorum pueros, artem *scindens* Theodori.

So all MSS., but *scindens* was altered by Jahn to *scindes*, and he is followed by Mayor, Weidner, Bücheler. The sentence then runs easily 'Ascertain the sums made by a successful music-master, and you will tear up your Art of Rhetoric.' But I think the participle *scindens* should be restored, as capable both of translation and parallel. It means 'Tearing up your Art of Rhetoric,

go and ascertain the sums a successful music-master makes.' It can be supported by Propertius 3, 17, 37 *ante fores templi crater antistitis auro libatum fundens* in tua sacra merum; and 3, 19, 21 *teque, o Minoa uenundata, Scylla, figura, | tondens* purpurea regna paterna coma.

VIII. 27.

salue Gaetulice, seu tu Silanus, *quocumque* alio de sanguine, rarus ciuis et egregius patriae contingis ouanti.

The asyndeton is harsh; *uel quocumque*

might have been expected. As *quocumque* occurs infra line 60, the scribe's eye may have wandered thither, and the word have been introduced from that line. Read *quouque* alio de sanguine.

VIII. 108—110.

nunc sociis iuga pauca boum, grex parvus
equarum,
et pater armenti capto eripietur agello,
ipsi deinde Lares.

For *eripietur* (*pw*) P has *eripiū*, with the rest of the word erased. It seems obvious that *eripiuntur* should be restored.

VIII. 237—244.

hic nouus Arpinas, ignobilis et modo Romae
municipalis eques, galeatum ponit ubique
praesidium attonitis et in omni monte
laborat.
tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi
nominis ac tituli, quantum *in* Leucade,
quantum
Thessaliae campis Octavius abstulit udo
caedibus adsiduis gladio, sed Roma parentem
Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.

Here there are two points to notice, first the reading *monte*, second the obelized reading *in*. The reading *monte* is apparently due to the first hand of P, and a Paris MS. 1525, cited by Ruperti: it is recognized in the scholium. On the other hand *gente* appears in *pw*. Here is a startling difference in sense: was Cicero busy *on all the seven hills of Rome* with his precautions against Catiline, or *in every tribe of Italy*, where he stationed forces to crush the rebellion? Or rather may a third view be suggested, that Juvenal is writing with characteristic rhetorical exaggeration of the well-planned arrest upon the Mulvian bridge, upon which he seizes as the central fact in the downfall of the conspiracy? I think so, and propose to restore an ancient reading *in omni ponte*. Two considerations favour the change. (1) The adjacent (l. 245) *Volscorum in monte solebat* may well be the cause of *monte*, another example of the error noticed on viii. 27. I suppose no one would seriously defend *in omni gente*, evidently an attempt to emend *monte*, which was not understood. If emendation is required Weidner's *inerimi mente* is neater. (2) The note of the scholiast shows *ponte* to be an ancient reading: *et in omni monte l. quia in montibus condita est Roma. legitur et ponte l. propter Mulvium ubi Catilinae coniurati et Allobrogues deprehensi sunt.*

I proceed to consider the unmetered *quantum in Leucade*, which Bücheler rightly calls corrupt. Various remedies have been devised (1) *quantum non Leucade pw* (2) *quantum uix Leucade* Hermann, followed by Mayor (3) *quantum unda Leucade* Weidner. The reading *non* appears to be wrong because, as Kiaer shows, the negative cannot be understood from the first into the second clause, and the words must be translated 'Cicero the man of peace won as much glory as Augustus did *not* win at Actium but did win at Philippi'; which is absurd. If the negative could be understood in the second clause, it is still inappropriate; for the meaning is that Cicero the man of peace won as much glory as Augustus the man of war won, not as Augustus did not win; indeed an imperial writer could hardly have spoken so slightly of Augustus. The same objection, though to a less extent, applies to the reading *uix*; it disparages Augustus: for Weidner's *unda Leucade*, lumbering in rhythm and lame in syntax, there is little to be said.

I propose to read *ui* for *in*: this slight change makes all simple. 'Cicero won as much glory, the man of peace (*toga*) in Rome (*muros intra*), as Augustus won in war (*ui*) at Actium (*Leucade*), and by constant slaughter with the sword (*udo caedibus adsiduis gladio*) in Thessaly' (*Thessaliae campis*). The double antithesis is very skilful: *intra muros* is opposed to (a) *Leucade* (b) *Thessaliae campis*; *toga* to (a) *ui* (b) *udo caedibus adsiduis gladio*. For *ui* used of warlike violence cp. Verg. *Aen.* 9. 399 *qua ui iuuenem, quibus audeat armis eripere* l. 12. 260 *me me duce ferrum | eripite, o miseri, quos improbus aduenia bello | territat, inualidas ut aues, et litora uestra ui populat.*

X. 90—94.

uisne salutari sicut Seianus, *habere*
tantundem, atque illi summas donare
curules,
illum exercitibus praeponere, tutor haberi
principis *augusta Caprearum* *in rupe se-*
denti
cum grege Chaldaeo?

Here *habere* at the end of the line so near to *haberi* is suspicious: again I fancy the scribe's eye has wandered, as in viii. 27. Read *amari tantundem*: cp. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 3. 71 *amari si uiolet*. The great popularity of Sejanus before his fall is remarked upon by Velleius ii. 127 and 128. The reading

augusta, 'royal,' is adopted by Bücheler from P; but who that has sat on 'Capri's narrow cliff' can doubt that *angusta pw* is right?

XI. 117—119.

illa domi natas nostraque ex arbore mensas
tempora uiderunt; *hoc lignum* stabat ad
usus,
annosam si forte nucem deiecerat Eurus.

Bücheler, in his third edition, has introduced *hoc* from P for *hos* (ω): then *hoc lignum* I suppose means 'the logs of this sort of tree.' But this leaves *usus* indefinite, so that the old reading *hos* seems necessary: 'its logs were stored for this use,' viz. to make tables.

XII. 48—51.

sed quis nunc alias, qua mundi parte quis
audet
argento praefere caput rebusque salutem?
non propter uitam faciunt patrimonia qui-
dam
sed uitio caeci propter patrimonia uiuunt.

Bentley on Horace A.P. 337 proposed to expunge the last two lines here printed, lines 50—51. As those lines seem to be genuine, I think it worth while to answer his strictures in detail.

(1) He objects to the employment of the word *quidam* 'some,' as in 47—48 Juvenal says 'All prefer money to life,' while in 50—51 'Some prefer money to life.' What is the sense of saying 'some' after he has said 'all'? If we were criticizing a logical writer, this might be a difficulty. But poets are not logicians, least of all Juvenal, whose thought often tends to be disconnected. After having made a general assertion, the poet proceeds to support it by certain (*quidam*) special cases within his own knowledge. The meaning of *quidam* seems to be 'I know certain persons who do not make fortunes to live, but blind through infatuation live only to make fortunes.'

(2) He criticizes the expression *facere patrimonia* as a 'scabies locutionis.' But in silver writers *patrimonium* often means property generally, not necessarily inherited property, e.g. vii. 113 centum *patrimonia* causidicorum, where *patrimonia* is equivalent to *res*. If Horace (Epp. 1. 1. 65) can say *suedat qui rem facias*, why should not Juvenal say *patrimonia facere*?

(3) He characterizes *uitio caeci* as 'alienum et pannosum.' Few will feel any

difficulty about the proposition that men are blinded by the love of money. The use of *uitium* is illustrated by xiv. 175 where *humanae mentis uitium* is defined as *saeua cupido immodiici census*, i.e. avarice.

(4) He complains that the lines interrupt the context. But illogical amplification is characteristic of Juvenal, who like all moralists loves to enforce his moral truths by repetition in and out of season. There is a similar irrelevant amplification in xiv. 241—243, where he says that the modern love of riches is as keen as was the love of ancient heroes for their fatherland. The mention of Menoeceus, who killed himself to save his city Thebes, *si Graecia uera*, leads to a description of the Σταροί born from serpents' teeth. These have nothing to do with the point, and I wonder that no critic for that reason has proposed to omit lines 241—243.

XIII. 208.
has patitur poenas peccandi *sola* uoluntas.

'Such punishments attend on the mere wish to sin.' The reading *sola* (ω) is accepted by Bücheler and most editors. P has *saeua*. I am inclined to think that *saeua* should be retained, taking *peccandi saeua uoluntas* as 'the relentless will to sin'; as in xiv. 175 *saeua cupido immodiici census* means 'the relentless craving for unbounded wealth.' Or, if we are to alter *saeua*, I should prefer something nearer to it than *sola*. Weidner's *laeuia* is ingenious: cp. xiv. 228 *laeuia* monitu pueros producit auaros. Possibly however *saeua* is the poet's word.

XIV. 140—145.

ergo paratur
altera uilla tibi; cum rus non sufficit unum,
et proferre libet fines maiorque uidetur
et melior uicina seges, mercaris et hanc et
arbusta et densa montem qui canet oliua.

So the lines should be punctuated, not with a comma at *tibi* (141), as Mayor and Bücheler, nor a colon at *seges* (143), as Mayor. The awkwardness of the ordinary stopping has led editors to misunderstand, and Weidner to alter, the text gratuitously. Translate: 'This is why you buy another country-house; when one estate does not content you, and you would gladly extend your boundaries, thinking a neighbour's acres broader and better, you buy them as well and the shrubberies and hill gray with clustering olives.'

XIV. 152.

sed qui sermones, quam *foedae* bucina famae.

So the editors, but P has *foede*. The ordinary text means 'But what gossip there will be, blazoning of a report how shameful!' It seems quite possible to retain *foede*, supplying a verb: cp. i. 89 *alea quando hos animos?* *sc.* *habuit*; iv. 25 *hoc pretio squamae!* *sc.* *emptae sunt*; v. 107 *ipsi pauca uelim, sc. dicere*; xi. 3 *omnis coniunctus thermae stationes, omne theatrum de Rutilo sc. locuntur*. The meaning then is 'How foully the trumpet of report will blow!' Or is *foede* for *foedae* = *foeda* ? In that case we might read *foeda est*.

XIV. 227—232.

nam quisquis magni censuſ praecepit
amorem,
et laevo monitu pueros producit auaros,
et qui per fraudes patrimonia conduplicari,
dat libertatem et totas effundit habenas
curriculo, quem si reuoces, subsistere nescit
et te contemptu rapitur metisque relictis.

The text, so printed by Bücheler after P_o, is hard, as there is no construction for the infinitive *conduplicari*; nor is *conduplicare*, the reading of a few MSS adopted by Mayor, any improvement. In either case the sentence is harsh, as some verb of teaching must be supplied to govern the infinitive; thus Bücheler *Rhein. Mus.* 43 p. 295 understands *instituit* from *producit*. Weidner ingeniously reads *conduplicandi* dat libertatem, totas effundit habenas, beginning the apodosis at *totas* 'he who allows them free scope in doubling by fraud their inherited property, gives the reins wildly to the chariot.' A simpler remedy would be to transpose 229, 228; then *conduplicari* would depend on *praecepit*.

nam quisquis magni censuſ praecepit amo-
rem,
et qui per fraudes patrimonia conduplicari,
et laevo monitu pueros producit auaros, etc.

S. G. OWEN.

ἐκ OR ἀπό DENOTING POSITION.

DR. JEBB in his note on *Antig.* 411 καθήμεθ' ἄκρων ἐκ πάγων explains the use of ἐκ or ἀπό with a verb denoting position as follows. After quoting *Il.* 14, 153 'Ἡρη δὲ εἰσεῖδε χρυσόθρονος ὀφθαλμούσιν στᾶσ' ἐξ Οὐλύμπου ἀπὸ βίον, and three other instances (Eur. *Ph.* 1009, 1224, *Tro.* 522), he says, 'In all these passages, a picture is presented, and we have to glance from a remoter to a nearer object. The mental eye is required to measure the space between Hera on the peak of Olympus, and Poseidon on the plain of Troy; between Megareus on the walls of Thebes, and the cavern into which his corpse is to fall. And, in each case, ἐκ or ἀπό denotes the *quarter* in which the remoter object is to be looked for. This, which might be called the "surveying" use, is distinct from that in which the prep. has a pregnant force, as being directly suggestive of motion (*οἱ ἐκ Σικελίας ἤξωντι*); but it springs from the same mental tendency,—viz. to take a rapid glance over the dividing interval. Cp. *ἴστασθαι πρός τροφ* ("on his side"). So here: in the foreground of the picture 'is the corpse, which they have just laid bare. Now look to the hillocks behind

it: in that quarter you will see the guards at their post.'

Similarly on *Philoc.* 1076—7 εἰς ὅστον τὰ τ' ἐκ νεώς στειλῶσι ναῦται he says, 'The only difference between τὰ ἐκ νεώς here and τὰ ἐν νηὶ is that the former suggests the notion of the quarter—at some distance from the speaker—where the preparations are to be made. Cp. Plat. *Lach.* 184 Αἱ γὰρ δὲ γέλως καὶ κρότος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὀλάκαδος:—"the people off there in the merchant-ship." Thuc. 6, 32, συνεπηρύχοντο δὲ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμulos ὁ ἐκ τῆς γῆς (where ἐκ carries the mental eye from the scene on board the ships to the scene ashore).'

May it not be objected that this theory, instead of explaining the prepositions in connection with the words they belong to, attaches them to a verbal notion not expressed in the sentence? Whatever ἐκ means in the words καθήμεθ' ἐκ πάγων, it ought to mean something or other that develops and enriches the idea of 'sitting down on the hill' *internally* to that idea: but the theory makes ἐκ *external* to that idea, diverting its force to aid an imaginary verbal notion of 'surveying.' So in ὁ

ἄλλος ὅμιλος δὲ ἐκ τῆς γῆς : ἐκ, closely joined to δὲ and governing τῆς γῆς, ought to contribute something to our idea of the manner of the people's presence on the shore ; the theory draws ἐκ outside of that idea and attaches it to the idea of glancing with the mental eye.

Could not all the above passages except *Philoc.* 1076 be explained more easily, on the analogy of ἀφ' ἵππων μάχεσθαι, as implying that the presence of the person where he stands has an effect beyond the spot where he stands ? Thus in Greek 'we sat down *from* the hill' would imply 'we sat down (intending our sitting to be effective away from where we sat) *on* the hill'—i.e. as watchers. So in Thuc. 6, 32 the people on the shore who joined their prayers to those of the men on board are called 'the people *from* the shore' because, so to speak, their presence on the shore permeates the space from thence outwards—in virtue of the sound of their prayers. And in Eur. *Phoen.* 1009 στὰς ἐξ ἐπαλξεων, Megareus by saying, 'I will go and stand *from* the battlements' means 'I will go and stand

(with a view to action beyond) *on* the battlements'—for he will let his corpse fall thence into the cave.

Thus the duty of ἐκ or ἀπό would be merely to hint that the person's presence is one which emits some influence or activity beyond the spot he occupies ; no distinct idea need be supplied with the preposition such as *watching* from, *throwing* from ; indeed the hint is so subtle and momentary that we make too much of it if we try to state it explicitly at all.

As to *Philoc.* 1076 εἰς ὅσον τὰ τ' ἐκ νεῶν στρέισθαι νάνται, may this be merely an example of the ordinary pregnant use of ἐκ (which is surely on the face of it naively expressive enough to need no deriving from a mental tendency to glance over an interval) ? The mast, as Dr. Jebb points out, would be lying down : so that it and the tackle might perhaps be felt to be *in* the ship, and would have to be taken *out* of it and set up.

E. H. DONKIN.

POSTGATE'S PROPERTIUS.

Sexti Properti carmina recognouit Joh. PERCIVAL POSTGATE. London, G. Bell and Sons : Cambridge, Deighton, Bell and Co. 1894. 4to. 3s. 6d. net.

SINCE the *annus mirabilis* 1880 there has appeared no edition of Propertius but Mr Vahlen's insignificant revision of Haupt in 1885. So long ago however as 1881 Dr Postgate in his *Select Elegies* furnished one fourth of the poems with the best explanatory commentary they yet possess ; and among the many critics who have handled this author in the last fifteen years he has been one of the busiest. He now issues, as part of his *Corpus Poetarum* and simultaneously in a separate form, this recension and apparatus : a work full as important for the criticism of the text as any edition of the century after Lachmann's, Baehrens' and Palmer's.

Dr Postgate's own emendations are over a hundred in number. The best in the book is at IV i 93 'quippe Lupercus, *auī* (*equi* MSS) dum saucia protegit ora, | heu sibi prolapso non bene cauit equo,' which is admirably neat : now at length one can form a picture of what happened, and Lupercus has

something sensible to die for, like his brother Gallus who 'in castris dum credita signa tuerit | concidit ante aquilae rostra cruenta suae' : *auīs* is corrupted to *equis* at IV xi 102. The correction of II vii 20, already published in the *Select Elegies*, 'hic erit et patrio nomine (*sanguine* . MSS from 14) pluris amor,' seems certain ; and so does IV ii 12 'seu, quia uertentis fructum praecepimus anni, | Vertumni rursus *credis* id (*credidit* MSS) esse sacrum,' and the minute correction III xix 6 'flamma per incensas citius sedetur aristas | fluminaque ad fontis sunt (*sint* MSS) reditura caput.' II xxiii 22 'nolim fulta *pigenda* (*pudica* MSS) tori' is convincing to me and superior to Baehrens' conjecture *pudenda* which ought however to be mentioned. II xiii 55 'illis *formosus* (*formosum* MSS) iacuisse paludibus, illuc | diceris effusa tu, Venus, isse coma' is attractively simple and favoured by κείται καλὸς Ἀδωνίς ἐπερ, though it must be allowed that 'formosum *lauisse*' or 'ciuisse' is more strictly pertinent to the context. II xxiv 1 'tu *quereris* (*loqueris* MSS) cum *sis* (so codd. rec. for *sit*) iam noto fabula libro' seems more satisfactory than Baehrens' transposition 'sic loqueris,

cum tu,' and one or the other must be right. IV xi 101 'moribus et caelum patuit: sis (sim MSS) digna merendo, | cuius honoratis ossa uehantur aus' is in my judgment a true correction: certain I hesitate to call it because it depends for its validity on my transposition of 67 *sq.* and 71 *sq.* to precede this couplet: perhaps too the right reading may be *si*. At II xxix 27, in the MS text 'ibat et hinc castae narratum somnia Vestae,' the *hinc* is meaningless and Jacob proposed *in*; but this ellipse, as I think Dr Postgate himself has somewhere observed, does not appear to allow a descriptive epithet: he reads *intactae*, which may well be right, though *incanuae* (Verg. A. v 744 *canuae penetralia Vestae*) would be as near the MSS. In III xi 56 the reading 'non haec, Roma, fuit tanto tibi ciue uerenda, | dixi, aut (dixit et MSS) assiduo lingua sepulta mero' seems as good as any yet suggested; and in 58 'femineo (femineas) tinuit territa Marte minas' is likely enough, though Dr Postgate does not improve it by writing *extimuit*. At IV i 57 'munera (moenia MSS) namque pio conor disponere uersu' is at any rate a lighter change than Mr L. Mueller's *munere...uersus*. II ix 44 'nunc quoque erit, quamuis sis inimica, nihil' (*eris...nisi* MSS) and IV x 19 'idem eques, e (et MSS) frenis idem fuit aptus aratris' are worth considering. At I xii 10 the conjecture 'num me deus obruit? an quae | lecta Prometheis *diuidis* herba iugis' accounts well for the MS variants *diuidit* and *diuitis*, though *diuidit* is better in itself. In II xxxiv 13—16 the MSS have 'tu mihi uel ferro *pectus* uel perde ueneno; | a domina tantum te modo tolle mea, | te socium uitiae, te *corporis* esse licebit, | te dominum admitto rebus, amice, meis.' The phrase '*socium corporis*' is unintelligible, and Dr Postgate writes *pectoris* in 15 and *corpus* in 13: *pectus* however is there a better word than *corpus*, and the fault is easier mended by transposing the *socium* and *dominum* of 15 and 16, 'te dominum uitiae, te corporis esse licebit, | te *socium* admitto rebus, amice, meis.'

In a good many places however Dr Postgate's conjectures have no apparent advantage over his predecessors'. Thus at I ii 13 'litora natius *persuadent* picta lapillis' his *resplendent* is to say the least neither nearer to the text nor apter to the sense than Baehrens' *praefulgent*. At IV ix 3 'uenit et *aduictos* pecorosa Palatia montes' his *ad intactos* is further from the MSS than Lachmann's *ad eductos*, which he

does not mention, and has no superiority in meaning. In III xxi 19 *sq.* the vulgate 'cum fessa *Lechaeo* | sedarit placida uela phaselus aqua' was amended by Guietus to *Lechaei*: Dr Postgate writes *Lechaea* (adj.). The earlier conjecture is the more probable: scribes would have less temptation to alter *Lechaea*, especially with so many similar terminations in the neighbourhood to protect it. At III xiii 39 *sq.* 'corniger atque dei uacuam pastoris in aulam | dux aries saturas ipse reduxit oues' some interpolated MSS, wrongly as it seems, have *cornigerique*, which Palmerius explained to mean Pan; Dr Postgate alters this further to *crinigerique* and refers to Tib. II iii 11 *sqq.* where Apollo is described as keeping the herds of Admetus. What in the world have the herds of Admetus to do with this picture of the primitive pastoral life of mankind? At II xxx 20 'et petere Hyrcani litora nota maris' Dr Postgate writes *muta* and adds 'coll. Sen. H.F. 540.' It cannot be pretended that *muta* is nearer to the MSS than Lachmann's *nuda* or so near as Hertzberg's *nauta*: its superiority must depend on the support it gets from Seneca. Sen. H.F. 540 (536) is 'et *mutis* tacitum *litoribus* mare.' Because Seneca applies *mutus* to the shores of one sea, does it follow that Propertius applied it to the shores of another? Besides, Lachmann quoted *litora nuda* from Statius: why does not that prove that Propertius wrote *nuda*? II xxxii 33—36 runs as follows: 'ipsa Venus, quamuis corrupta libidine Martis, | nec minus in caelo semper honesta fuit, | quamuis Ida *Parim* pastorem dicat amasse | atque inter pecudes accubuisse deam.' There is no such story about Venus and Paris, so editors regard *Parim* as a mistaken gloss and generally understand Anchises to be meant: Schrader proposes *Phrygem*, Haupt *palam*, Baehrens *suum*. Dr Postgate mentions none of these, but writes 'fuit, | quamuis Ida, *Rhea*, pastorem dicat amasse' *cet.*, and says in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 6 Dec. 1892 'the reference is to the fable preserved in Theocr. xx 40 καὶ τὸν Ρέα, κλαίεις τὸν βουκόλον, Tertullian ad nat. i 149 Cybele pastorem suspirat.' But others, as we have seen, think that the reference is to the fable preserved in Iliad B 820 *sq.* Αἰνείας, τὸν ἄπ' Ἀγχίστη τέκε δί' Ἀφροδίτη | Ἰδης ἐν κηρυσσοῖς θέα βροτῷ εὐηθεῖσα, Theocr. i 105 εἰ λέγεται τὸν Κύπριν ὁ βουκόλος, ἔρπε ποτ' Ἰδαν, | ἔρπε ποτ' Ἀγχίσταν, xx 34 *sq.* ὅτι Κύπρις ἐπ' ἀνέρι μήρατο βούτη | καὶ Φρυγίος ἐνόμεντας ἐν ὥρεσι: Dr Postgate must

therefore give some reason why he believes that the person meant is Rhea, whose name is not in the MSS, rather than Venus, whose name is; and it must be a strong reason, if it is to justify a dislocated order of words which has no parallel in Propertius for violence unless you accept Dr Postgate's emendation of III xix 19 *sq.* At II xxxiv 39 the MSS have 'non *Amphiareae* prosint tibi fata quadrigae,' which Munro simply emended '*Amphiaraeae* p. t. f. quadrigae!' Dr Postgate writes '*Amphiarea* tibi non prosint fata quadrigae,' to which there is no objection except the needless violence of the change. But then he adds in his note 'alii alia aut numeris durissimum uersum aut *Amphiareae* nouum uerbum excudentes.' It is not a 'nouum verbum' but occurs in Strabo ix p. 399 ῥὸ 'Αμφιάρεων μαρτεῖον: that however is not the point: the point is that the proper adjective in -eos from Αμφιάραος is Αμφιάραος and nothing else, whether it occurs or not; just as the proper adjective from Μενέλαος is Μενέλαος' (Prop. II xv 14). Because Euphorion chooses to frame 'Αμφιάρεος' out of 'Αμφιάρης' the normal formation is not therefore outlawed from that day forth. Dr Postgate himself at Catull. 68.74 reads '*Protesileam* Laudamia domum' in the teeth of the MSS, which have *Protesileam*, and adds no note about 'nouum uerbum.'

Some of Dr Postgate's alterations are to be blamed as needless. For example, at IV vii 85 'hic *Tiburtina* (al. *Tiburna*) iacet aurea Cynthia ripa' he writes *Tiburne tua*, which means just the same as *Tiburtina* and is further away from all the MSS: he says indeed on p. 78 of his pamphlet 'On certain MSS of Propertius' that *Tiburtina* is post-Augustan, but that is an error. Another conjecture of this sort he defends at *praef.* p. vii. IV x 41 *sq.* describe the encounter of Claudius and Virdomarus: 'genus hic Rheno iactabat ab ipso, | nobilis e rectis fundere gaesa rotis. | illi uirgatis iaculantis ab agmine bracis | torquis ab incisa decidit unca gula': Dr Postgate in 43 writes 'illi, ut uirgatis iaculans it ab a, bracis, | torquis' ceter. This conjecture removes no real fault which the MS reading possesses. The text is both grammatical and intelligible. The verb *decido* serves as the passive of *decido*, and such verbs can take the constructions of a passive: Ovid met. v 192 'a tanto cecidisse uiro', Sil. iv 543 'huic cadit infelix nieuis Varenus in armis.' *illi* then is dative of the agent (or if you like of the recipient) and signifies Claudius,

which nothing forbids, for *Virdomarus* has just been called *hic*. All danger of mistaking *illi* for the possessive dative and referring it to *Virdomarus* is precluded by the presence of the genitive *iaculantis*. The verses therefore mean 'illi (Claudio) torquis iaculantis (Virdomari) decisa est ab incisa gula.' There is indeed a difficulty in *uirgatis bracis*; but Dr Postgate's conjecture does not remove it.

Some alterations are even injurious. III ix 37 *sq.* 'non flebo in cineres arcem sedisse paternos | Cadmi, nec semper proelia clade pari.' Propertius will not mourn over the fort of Cadmus collapsed into the ashes of the last generation, and the fight where the slaughter was one-sided at length: nec semper pari = et non semper pari = et tandem impari. This is that sack of Thebes by which the Epigoni broke the precedent of Καδμείαν *vīκη* set by the Sparti and followed by the sons of Oedipus. Thebes was sacked so often that the words 'cineres paternos' are useful if not needful to tell us that the sack by the Epigoni is meant; and I should have thought too that this was poetical, to say that the falling fortress blent her ashes with those of her former defenders. But if the significant *paternos* is to go, what does Dr Postgate put in its place? *repentes*: a useless epithet and a form not known to exist. For an inflexion of *repens* he can only cite *repenti*; and that from Lucretius. III xvii 1-4 'nunc, o Bacche, tuis humiles aduoluimur aris: | da mihi pacato uela secunda, pater. | tu potes insanæ ueneris compescere fastus, | curarumque tu fit medicina mero.' In 2 Dr Postgate writes *placatus* for *pacato*, in 3 he proposes either *infensa* or *fluctus*: these conjectures are all unnecessary and the first is downright harmful. The second distich means as it stands 'thou canst quell the disdain of the frantic fair (exhibited for instance at IV viii 72), and thy liquor heals the lover's grief': wine can make an angry mistress kind or a slighted lover tranquil: this is tersely repeated in the next line 'per te iunguntur, per te soluuntur amantes.' What Propertius now seeks from Bacchus is the second of these boons, tranquillity; therefore when he says 'da mihi uela secunda' he specifies the favour asked by adding 'pacato.' Dr Postgate refers to Ovid fast. iii 789 *sq.* 'mite caput, pater, huc placataque cornua uertas | et des ingenio uela secunda meo': but if that passage shows that Propertius wrote *placatus* it also shows that he wrote *mitis*.

At II xvii 11 *sq.* the MSS have 'quem modo felicem inuidia *admirante* ferebant, | nunc decimo admittor uix ego quoque die.' Dr Postgate writes *adridente* and says 'corr. nos cf. Mart. v 6 5.' Martial there invokes on a friend the extravagant blessing 'sis inuidia fauente felix,' may you be prosperous but escape envy; just as Ovid *Ibis* 121 *sq.* invokes on an enemy the extravagant curse 'sitque, quod est rarum, solito defecta fauore, | fortunae facies inuidiosa tuae,' may you incur envy though wretched. Whether Propertius when prosperous escaped envy I do not know and it does not matter, for certain it is that he never said so here. If he were lamenting the loss of general goodwill, there would be some sense in the remark that he was formerly unenvied. But what he is lamenting here is the loss of Cynthia's favour; so the remark would be not merely irrelevant but perverse, because in real life envy is the measure of prosperity, and the way to describe supreme felicity is not to say that you were not envied but to say that you were: usque ad inuidiam felix. The sense therefore requires the very opposite of *adridente* (Ovid depicting Inuidia in met. ii 775 *sqq.* writes 'risus abest, nisi quem uisi mouere dolores'), some such word as Heinsius' *maerente*. If the meaning and the ductus litterarum were all we had to think about I should confidently propose *lacrimante* (Ovid *l.c.* 'uixque tenet lacrimas, quia nil lacrimabile cernit'): one letter misplaced gives *acrimante* which is barely distinguishable from *admirante*; but the MS reading may have come from *admirere* four lines above.

Very few of Dr Postgate's alterations are without diplomatical probability, like *sontes* for *longas* at III vii 60, where the best correction seems to be Francius' *CAS<tas>*. On conjectures merely suggested in the notes it would not be fair to dwell; so I will only say that the proposal *ille* for *iste* at I ix 32 recognises a difficulty which all other editors have overlooked; that *strinxerat* for *triueral* in IV vii 10 may well be right; and that the conjectures at I v 7, II i 10, vii 18, xxviii 22 and III xvi 16 are injudicious.

Two changes of punctuation deserve praise: one at III xix 21 where Dr Postgate appears to have discovered what has escaped previous editors, that *uenundata* is neut. plur. and not fem. sing.; and another at IV i 18—20 where a strong stop is placed after *sacro* and a light one after

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equo. Two on the other hand are detrimental. The first is at II xxii 17 *sq.* 'unicuique dedit uitium natura creato: | mi fortuna aliquid semper amare dedit,' i.e. 'to every man at his birth has nature assigned some frailty, and the frailty she has assigned to me is to be always in love': in this connexion *fortuna* is just the same as *natura*: Sen. nat. quaest. v 18 8 'nimis delicate *fortuna* nos tractat; nimis dura dedit nobis corpora, felicem ualeitudinem.' Dr Postgate punctuates '*natura*; *creato* | *mi fortuna*' *cet.*, which means (or else the change is aimless) 'to every man has nature assigned some frailty, but my frailty of being always in love was assigned to me after my birth by fortune, not by nature.' What is the drift of this fanciful distinction, to which Propertius makes no further allusion? It has nothing to do with the theme of the poem; nay it even snaps the thread of argument: 'you ask *why* I am always in love: love knows no *why*: why do fanatics gash themselves with knives?'—here come our verses, and if they set up a distinction between the origin of Propertius' *uitium* and the origin of other folks' *uitia* they are incoherent. The second change of stops to which I referred is at III xi 34 *sqq.* where Dr Postgate punctuates thus: 'totiens nostro Memphi cruenta malo, | tres ubi Pompeio detraxit harena triumphos | una; Philippeo' *cet.* What then is the normal number of shores required to rob a man of three triumphs? and how many places would you have expected Pompey to die in? Dr Postgate in *praef. p. vi* cites IV vi 68 'una decem uicit missa sagitta rates' to justify the antithesis of *tres* and *una*. There is nothing absurd in the antithesis of *tres* and *una*. The numerals do indeed create the antithesis, but its absurdity resides not in them but in the substantives, which are the names of things between which no antithesis is conceivable. And even if you removed the antithesis by removing *tres*, *una* *harena* would still remain intrinsically absurd, because a man cannot be assassinated on two shores nor be 'robbed of his triumphs' piecemeal.

At II xxxiv 29 'aut quid *Crethei* tibi prosunt carmina plectri' the letters of the MSS are defended with the remark '*Cretheis* Homeri mater.' The objection to this is that Homer is named at 45, neither alone nor in company with others already named (in which case the repetition might be intentional), but in company with Anti-

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machus who has not been mentioned before.

I come now to the most important feature of this recension, its transpositions. Since Lachmann in 1816 undid at once the good and evil deeds of Scaliger, the duty of transposition has been much neglected by editors of Propertius; and Dr Postgate's is the first text of the century (Gruppe and Carutti do not count) to employ this method of emendation as freely as another. On the proper limits of transposition in a book like this there may well be two opinions. As a *Corpus Poetarum* is a work of reference and chiefly meant for the general reader, there is some disadvantage in admitting even the most certain trajections; and in Dr Postgate's pages I fear the general reader will be led a weary dance after sundry verses in such poems as III vii or IV i. On the other hand transpositions are hard to judge of unless they are set before the eye; and a large page presenting more than 200 lines at once affords too good an opportunity to miss. I should not therefore say that there was here too much transposition if the new arrangements, however violent, were anything like certain: but many of them are not; and in some places Dr Postgate has tried to do what cannot be done. It is idle, for instance, to pretend that any transposition of IV v 21-62 can come so near certainty as to earn a place in a text. Here is a mere string of precepts: you might almost as well profess to rearrange the *Sententiae of Publius* or the *Proverbs of Solomon*. One or two points are certain, e.g. Propertius never put 45 *sqq.* where the MSS put them; and there is no harm in suggesting a better sequence, but it should stay in the notes. Dr Postgate's rearrangement is moreover ill-judged in some of its details, as in the collocation of 41 *sqq.* after 58. The poems IV i and xi also, where the task is less hopeless, undergo several transpositions which are neither necessary nor salutary.

The most salutary of the new transpositions is that by which III xix 15 *sqq.* are placed before 21 so that the passage runs 'crimen et illa fuit patria succensa senecta | arboris in frondes condita Myrrha nouae, | tuque, o Minoa uenundata Scylla figura | tondens purpurea regna paterna coma': thus without the change of a word the second distich acquires a construction and a strengthened sense, and the two examples of unfilial passion are brought into telling contrast. In II iv, where Mr Birt placed

15 *sqq.* after 8, Dr Postgate further puts 9 *sqq.* (ill punctuated however) to stand after 14 to which they clearly belong: the two couplets had exchanged their stations. Again in III iv he seems to be certainly right in removing 19 *sqq.* from their present position and probably right in placing them before 11. In I xv he brackets 29-32 as alien from their context: this is the simplest way to connect 33 *sqq.*, as they must be connected, with 25 *sqq.* II x 7 *sqq.* he likewise marks as out of place, which they plainly are. He may too be right in ejecting from III vii the four verses 21-24 about Argynnus. His rearrangement of IV iv 1-14 is probable in the main, but is accompanied with needless alteration and does not remove all the roughness of the passage, which appears to be mutilated.

Some of Dr Postgate's transpositions are only slight variations on the transpositions of others, now for the better, now for the worse. In IV vii, where Schrader had brought 35-38 into contact with 73-76 by placing them after 76, Dr Postgate places them before 73, which improves the sequence of thought. Again in III vii, where it had been proposed to put 43-66 and 17-18 between 10 and 11, Dr Postgate more aptly puts them between 8 and 9. But in the same elegy, where Scaliger proposed the arrangement 9-16, 67-70, 25, Dr Postgate spoils it by the more complicated transposition 9-12, 67-70, 13-16, 25. Scaliger's sense is 'Aquila and Neptune, why did you shipwreck Paetus? Nereids, you should have saved him from drowning: restore his body to the land.' That is the natural order; but Dr Postgate reproaches the Nereids for not saving Paetus before he reproaches Aquila and Neptune for wrecking him; and makes the command 'reddite corpus humo' include Aquila, to whom it does not apply; and in order to do this transposes more verses than need transposing. Take again III xi 47 *sqq.* '47-68 ita ordinavimus, 51-58 (Housm.), 47-48, 67-68, 59-60 (Pass.), 49-50, 65-66, 61-64.' Dr Postgate's predecessors had restored coherency to the passage at the expense of only five transpositions, 51-58, 65-68, 59-60, 47-50, 61-64: he has modified this arrangement by separating the two distichs 47-48 and 65-66 from the verses which follow them in the MSS. As to 65-66, the place which Dr Postgate finds for them is a good place, though I think the best place is between 60 and 47: the only objection is that they will do very well where they are. But his transposition of 47-48 distinctly injures the sense. Without that

dislocation the passage runs thus: 'did Rome fear a woman's threat of war? what has become of the spoils of Hannibal? What avails it to have banished Tarquin if we must bear a woman's rule?' What Dr Postgate has done is to transpose the mentions of Hannibal and Tarquin, and make Propertius name Tarquin's expulsion in connexion with invasion and Hannibal's overthrow in connexion with tyranny.

IV vii begins 'There are such things as ghosts': 3-5 'Cynthia namque meo uisa est incumbere fulcro, | murmur ad extremae nuper humata uiae, | cum mihi somnus ab exequis penderet amarus.' Dr Postgate, *praef. p. v.*, like others before him very justly objects to such a vague and useless designation of place as 'extremae uiae,' and proposes to transport hither 81-82, so that we get 'uiae, | pomosis Anio qua spumifer incubat aruis | et numquam Herculeo numine pallet ebur.' I for my part do not think that 81-82 can be spared from their context, since the 'hic' of 83 appears to presuppose some more definite indication of locality than is supplied by the 'pelle hederam tumulo' of 79; but that point I do not press. The main point is that the transposition removes only one of the difficulties in verse 4 and leaves two: *murmur uiae*, which Dr Postgate wishes to understand as *murmur fluminis*, and *humata ad murmur* 'buried near a noise.' I have now little doubt that Propertius wrote 'murmur ad extremae nuper humata tubae' 'newly buried to the drone of the funeral trumpet': so he has *extremo rogo, extremo puluere, extremi funeris*; and there were two easy ways from *tuae* to *uiae*.

I have said already that it would be unfair to dwell on mere suggestions in the notes, so I will make no remark on the proposed transportation of II i 37 *sq.*

There are one or two changes of orthography: thus this is probably the first edition of Propertius to give the spelling *Suebus* at III iii 45. The effect of this however is rather spoilt by the occurrence of *Philetaeus* only seven lines below and again at IV vi 3.

Hitherto I have spoken only of Dr Postgate's own proposals; but after all the chief feature of the edition is the industry and judgment with which he has used the studies of his predecessors. The vulgate text is here improved and even transformed not only by many corrections published since 1880 but by many dating from the eighteenth or seventeenth century, neglected or expelled by Lachmann and only in part restored by Baehrens. Often too Dr Postgate gives back to earlier critics emendations which till now have been wrongly assigned. He is however himself in error in saying at III ix 9-19 'interpunximus,' for the punctuation in question was the vulgate down to 1829. At IV iv 13-14 and once or twice elsewhere he omits to mention the first author of a transposition which he adopts.

The MSS employed are Baehrens' with the addition of Holkhamicus 333 and, from IV xi 17 to 76, Parisinus 8233 and Vrbinas 641. Dr Postgate has injudiciously complicated his apparatus criticus with two new signs, Δ for DV and Φ for AF or FL. The value of such signs is that they save space, their drawback is that they task the memory. When O is used for AFDV the saving of space is considerable and the good outweighs the bad. But when Δ is used for DV the space saved is too little to excuse an additional emblem; and Φ will be still more of a nuisance to the general reader, since it means one thing from I i 1 to II i 63 and another from II xxi 3 to the end.

It is interesting to see the difference between this recension and the Select Elegies of 1881, and to note how much which was then explained is now emended. That the change is for the better I cannot doubt: true, many alterations are to my thinking unsuccessful, and import a good deal which is wrong and a great deal which is doubtful; but the general result is a text which I should call not only nearer but much nearer to the truth than any which has gone before it.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ONIONS' NONIUS MARCELLUS.

[*Nonius Marcellus de Compendiosa Doctrina* i.—iii., edited with Introduction and Critical Apparatus by the late J. H. Onions, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford. Oxford (Clar. Press), 1895. (10/6). (Pp. xxvi. and 298.)]

THIS book, long looked for, has come at last. Since his collation of the Harleian Nonius in 1882, Mr. Onions was known to be engaged on a great edition, based on a personal collation of all the older MSS., of the *Compendiosa Doctrina*, that fourth century treatise on early Latin words and constructions in which is preserved for us almost all that we possess of the lost works of early Latin literature, dramatic, epic, satirical and historical. The large German edition of Prof. Lucian Mueller (2 vols., Leipzig, 1888), which appeared meanwhile, did not satisfy him. In two articles in the *Classical Review* (1888 and 1889) he criticized it severely on two grounds, excessive love of conjectural emendation, and insufficient MS. material. Prof. Mueller's collations, he showed, were made by other hands and were of varying value, that of L by Prof. Zangemeister being extremely good, those of V and A 'far from trustworthy,' while of the older MSS. FP and all but one of the extract-MSS. (ACXDMO) had not been collated. The importance of the omission in the case of F he demonstrated by showing that this codex contains corrections (F³) throughout books i.—iii. taken from a lost 'codex optimus' and therefore of the utmost value. Only one MS., the Escurial, remained to be collated by Mr. Onions at his untimely death in 1889. It was collated by me in the following spring; and now, after a regrettable delay of six years, that portion of the *Compendiosa Doctrina* which he left ready for the press is given to the world. It comprises books i.—iii., about one third of the whole work. For the rest, books iv.—xx., a full critical apparatus had been prepared, but the text had been written out for a part of book iv. only.

The mere fact that this edition is the first to avail itself of the readings of a lost 'codex optimus' is sufficient to make it indispensable to all students of Nonius (and all who study the earlier Latin literature or grammar must be students of Nonius), but, apart from that, it will be found on every page that Mr. Onions' characteristically English adherence to the MSS. and sobriety

of judgment has provided us with a text which can be accepted with confidence. The passages marked with an obelus as hopelessly corrupt are very few, and might possibly with safety be made still fewer;¹ and the careful examination in the introduction into the value of the several MSS. and their relationship to each other concludes with a statement of the rules to be followed in constructing the text, which shows the reader that he has firm ground under his feet.

On pp. xvii.—xix. of the introduction it is proved beyond, I think, possibility of doubt that the Harleian codex H (H¹, not H²) is a copy of the Laurentian F; further, that the Escurial codex from book ii. p. 130 M. to the end of book iii. is another copy of the Laurentian. We must, I think, add that the Laurentian itself (F¹ F², not F³) is nothing but a copy of the Leyden codex L. The following evidence seems of itself sufficient to establish this:—

In 230 M. 30 L has, with the other MSS., *cycno*, but the word is so written as to look very like *crono*. F has *orono*.

In 231. 22 L has *stupidius* (for *Fufidius*), but so written as to be indistinguishable from *stipidius*. F has *stipidius*.

In 66. 14 L has *leucotea* corrected by superscription of a somewhat large *h* to *leuchothea*, and above this in Greek uncial letters ΛΕΥΚΟΘΕΑ, the superscribed *h* coming immediately under and between the O and Θ. F² has ΛΕΥΚΟΗΘΕΑ (in *rasura*), mistaking the *h* for Greek Eta, and referring it to the word above instead of to the word below.

In 67. 23 L has *prolaterios* with transition-marks (like acute accents) above *a* and *e*, thus correcting the word to *proleterios*. F (i.e. F¹, for F³ corrects the mistake) has understood the marks to apply (as they usually do) to the syllables, not to the single letters, and gives *protelarios*.

A careful examination of L, which has been by the kindness of Dr. du Rieu, the Leyden librarian, sent for a time to the Bodleian Library, has convinced me that

¹ E.g. 89 M. 26 omit *me*; 79. 1 transpose *nequid* and *imprimis*; 88. 27 and 31 (stent); 92. 7 change *ultra* to *citra*; 95. 6 read *indapalis cena*; 96. 14 read *parabis tantum*; 106. 24 read with Gellius *sensibus*; 171. 15 change *puluere mitico* to *pōlūbro mystico* (*pō-lubrum* from *pō-*, Gk. *τρο*, of *pō-situs*, *pō-lio*, etc. and *lavo*).

this view is correct. What seems to conflict with it is that F¹ in, I think, two¹ instances, and F² in four, add words which are not found in L, viz. :—

41. 7 *quam conugem* (sic) F¹ (in a passage of Cicero *de Off.*).

105. 17 *in suos* F¹ (from Cicero *Cato*).

125. 26 *odere* F² (in a line of Virgil).

169. 25 *ille* F² (in a line of Virgil).

185. 13 *ab natura* F² (from Sallust *Jug.*).

188. 2 *ac saltuatin* F² (in a passage which is quoted shortly before by Nonius, p. 168 M. 10).

These instances, which probably deterred Mr. Onions from accepting the dependence of F on L, do not seem to me strong enough to stand against the great mass of proof on the other side. (See, for example, the passages quoted on p. xvi. of the introduction.) They may be used as arguments that another copy of Nonius besides L was used for occasional reference by the scribe of F, but I find no other evidence of this² and prefer to give the scribes the credit of supplying these omissions in L out of their own knowledge of Cicero and Virgil.

Our original authorities for the text are thus reduced to (1) L, (2) H²V, and for books i.—ii. med. PE, (3) the extract-MSS., (4) F³. Mr. Onions, like Prof. Mueller, regards L (especially the first hand, L¹) as our chief guide for orthography, and so prints the unassimilated form of the preposition in compounds, e.g. *inmitto*, *adpeto*, etc. He does not however go with Prof. Mueller the length of printing spellings of L like *aput*, *set*, etc. I found in his notes some indications of a partial admission of these spellings but not enough to justify me in altering the form of the text as he left it. For my own part it seems to me that *aput*, *set* and the like were the spellings in the Archetype (cf. *Class. Rev.* ii. p. 316). In the title Mr. Onions writes *De Compendiosa Doctrina* (cf. *Class. Rev.* iii. 300), not *Compendiosa Doctrina*, and *Tuburicensis* (the MSS. have *Tuburci* and *Tuburgi*).³ For the text he gives

¹ I need not add the line from Virgil, 229. 29, *bis patet in praecpta tantum*, to which F¹ adds *t*, the initial of the next word in Virgil's line *tendit*, and F² *q.s.a.* (*que sub auras* (!)). All the MSS. end at *tantum*. F² has a similar addition to another line of Virgil, 182. 28, *rumpere et obductum uerbis vulgare*, where F² adds *d*, the initial of *dolorem*. A glance at Mr. Onions' critical apparatus for this line will show that the Archetype omitted *dolorem*.

² Of course one can be more certain about F¹ than F².

³ It seemed to me, when I saw the Paris MS. P., that there was little possibility of -RC- having been the spelling of P¹. The fact that E, a MS. so

least weight to the extract-MSS., though he shows that for the first ten pages (to 11 M. 3 *conficeret*) three of these (ACX) come from a lost MS. of great correctness, and most weight to F³, of which he says 'This source is by far the best; and its corrections are almost invariably to be adopted.' With this estimate few will disagree.

The history of the MSS. I take to have been something like this. At the Revival of Letters under Charlemagne, Nonius Marcellus was recommended to monastery libraries as a useful dictionary of Early Latin, and a copy of a MS. of the whole of his works was sent from monastery to monastery that other copies might be taken of it. This MS. was possibly from England (witness the frequent confusion of *n* and *r*) and had lost a leaf containing book xvi. Another leaf (with book iv, pp. 406 M. 13—409 M. 14) was loose, and after the MS. had been for conveniences of copying divided into three parts, the first volume containing bks. i.—iii., the second bk. iv., the third bks. v.—xx., this leaf which had fallen out was placed for safety after the first leaf of vol. i. instead of vol. ii., so that all our MSS.⁴ have between p. 3 M. 13 and 14 this passage of book iv. From these data, that the first leaf of the Archetype contained p. 1 M. 1—p. 3 M. 13 and another leaf pp. 406 M. 13—409 M. 14, also that single lines, whose contents we know, are on two occasions omitted (17 M. 5 and 133 M. 28), we may estimate that the Archetype had some forty letters to the line, and in the page two columns of twenty-five lines each. The most faithful representative of the Archetype which we possess is the Leyden codex, L, a 9th cent. specimen of the calligraphy of Alcuin's school at Tours. The group PVE and the corrections H² come from a copy into which a large number of corrections had been entered, and these not taken from another MS. but the arbitrary emendations of some learned abbot, often right but more often wrong, and whose margins had been filled with glosses or rather indices to the lemmas.⁵ P and E come from a copy of this emended text, into which the scribe had entered the corrections only as far as the middle of book ii. The scribe of P stayed his hand when he reached the end of closely connected in the first two books with P, has -RG- is strong proof that this was the original spelling of P.

⁴ But not the original of F³, as Mr. Onions shows. This may have been the Archetype itself.

⁵ These are used by Glossary-compilers of the time (L. Mueller ii. pp. 270 *sqq.*).

this corrected portion ; and his fragmentary copy has since been curtailed by the loss of the last leaf. The scribe of E looked about for another corrected MS. (an uncorrected MS. of Nonius was thought little of) and in a happy moment secured F, which had been previously used as an exemplar by the scribe of the Harleian codex. Some other learned abbot compiled an abridged edition of Nonius, to make the book more suitable for a dictionary, omitting Books iii. and ix. which are concerned with the genders and cases, not the meanings, of words. He

began by mistake with the second volume of the Archetype and did not retrieve his error till he had finished his abridgment of book iv., which accordingly comes first in DMO. The scribe of the original of ACX began by writing out the text of Nonius in full, but after copying pp. 1—10 M. took up the abridged version, and copied from it the rest of book i. and the whole of book ii. ; then returned to his first exemplar for books v.—xx.

W. M. LINDSAY.

SUDHAUS' EDITION OF PHILODEMUS.

Philodemi Volumina Rhetorica edidit Dr. SIEGFRIED SUDHAUS, pp. lii + 385. Leipzig (Teubner) 1892. Vol. i, 4 marks.

PHILODEMUS of Gadara, the Epicurean philosopher and epigrammatist, whom Cicero attacks as a friend of Piso in his Speech in *Pisonem* (§§ 68, 70), and praises in the *de Finibus* (ii 119), is the author of more than twenty treatises discovered at Herculaneum in 1752. The house in which they were found is usually called *la villa di Pisone*, partly because 'its site agrees with Cicero's statement that the residence of the Pisos was visible from his own villa at Puteoli,' partly because most of the MSS were written by members of the Epicurean school, of which Piso was an adherent. The difficulty of unrolling and deciphering all these charred *papyri* was enormous, and it was not until 1793 that the first volume of *Herculaneum* was published. It contained the treatise of Philodemus *περὶ μονσικῆς*. This treatise has since been edited by Kemke (1884), while the philosophical works of Philodemus, *περὶ εὐσεβίας*, *περὶ ὄργης*, *περὶ θαύάτον*, *περὶ σημείων* have been edited by Gomperz and others (1864—1886). The fragments of a treatise *περὶ ποιημάτων* have been since discussed and elucidated by Gomperz in an important paper published by the Vienna Academy in 1891.² The rhetorical works are now being edited in the Teubner series by Dr. Siegfried Sudhaus of Bonn, and the first volume is now before

us. The editor apologizes for the boldness of some of his conjectures by the sensible plea : *est aliquid audendum; liber legi posse debet*. He acknowledges the help he has received from scholars like Buecheler, Usener and Gomperz, and puts forth his first volume in the hope that many other scholars may contribute towards the restoration of the text.

Since the date of its publication, something has been done in this direction by J. von Arnim in a Rostock program, and more by the editor himself, who has examined the *papyri* at Naples, and printed some of his results in the first part of the 53rd volume of *Philologus* (1894). All that I can offer here is a few remarks suggested by spending a single day in the cursory perusal of the Teubner text.

P. 20, col. i—ii, as restored in *Philologus*, runs as follows : *τέλος ἐστὶ τῆς ῥήτορικῆς οὐ τὸ δόγμα πείθειν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀτέχνος πείθει μὲν, οὐ πείθει δὲ ῥήτορικός ἀλλὰ διαλεκτικός ἡ κατασκευαστικός, ὡς καὶ Φρίνη κτλ.* My object in citing this is simply to point out that, in the schools of rhetoric, Phryne must have been a stock example of persuasion effected by non-rhetorical means. She doubtless owed this distinction to the well-known story of the manner in which she was defended by Hyperides. She also appears in a similar context in Quintilian, ii 15 §§ 6, 9 :—*verum et pecunia persuadet et gratia...postremo aspectus etiam ipse sine voce, quo...formae pulchritudo sententiam dictat; ...et Phrynen non Hyperidis actione quanguam admirabili sed conspectu corporis...putant periculo liberatam. quae si omnia persuadent, non est hic, de quo locuti sumus, idoneus finis. ideoque diligentiores sunt visi*

¹ Hayter's *Report on the Herculaneum MSS.* quoted on p. xlili of *Introd.* to Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, ed. J. B. Mayor.

² *Philodem u. die ästhetischen Schriften der Herculaneischen Bibliothek.*

sibi, qui, cum de rhetorica idem sentirent, existimaverunt eam vim dicere persuadendi.

P. 27, 1—4: ὡστε ῥητ[έον] μη[δὲ τρι]βῆν καὶ [ιστορ]ία[ν]¹ εἶναι τὴν ῥητορικήν. Here I should prefer *τριβήν* καὶ ἐμπειρία[ν]. I am aware that elsewhere Philodemus couples *τριβή* with *ιστορία*; but *ἐμπειρία* is frequently coupled with *τριβή* in Plato's *Gorgias*, with which Philodemus was certainly familiar.

P. 43, col. xviii—xix, καὶ γὰρ [τὸν] λ. . . ν λεγόμενον ἐνιστορε πάντες ἐπιστρέψαμεθα καὶ καταχρώμεθα [δὲ] πολλάκις ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ τῷ τῆς τέχνης ὄνοματι. Near the beginning of this sentence, [τὸν] ἀλλογονον λεγόμενον has been proposed by Dieterich; but the masculine form does not appear to be satisfactory, and I should prefer to suggest the neuter:—[τὸν] ἀλλογονον λεγόμενον. Polyaenus was an Epicurean, mentioned in Cicero's *Academica* ii 106 and *de Finibus* i 20. He is actually mentioned by Philodemus himself on p. 49:—τὸ δὲ Πολυαῖνον λεγόμενον περὶ ῥητορικῆς οὐχ ὑπαρχον Πολυαῖνον, καθάπερ ἐνεφανίσαμεν, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν παρατειμένων ἐπιστρομένων παρίστρων. οἱ μέντοι λέγοντες αὐτὴν τέχνην κτλ. Polyaenus had apparently been regarded as denying that rhetoric was an art.

It ought to be possible to emend, on p. 102, 32, νέος ὁν θρασ[ύ]νετ[α]ι καὶ . . . ναπατηγόντα τινα [ζη]τεῖ, and, on p. 110, 33, εἰτ' ἐστ[η]ι τινος καὶ τέχνης εἰθ' συσθν ἔχει τέχνης, but neither συνεπείγοντα in the former, nor ὑπόστρωσιν in the latter, which are the only suggestions that have occurred to me, would be really satisfactory.

P. 167, 2—7, τινὲς δὲ γράφον[τες] καὶ τοῖς ἀι. . . .ς καὶ παποὶ κίλλον[σι] τὸν λόγον, ἐνιστορε[ε δὲ] ἀφ'[ε]τέρων [γε] πραγμάτων μεταφέρειν τὰς ὄντος μαστία[ν]. The missing word may be either ἀλλοτρίος, or ἀνθρωπος. Cf. (for the latter) Dionys. Hal. *Rhet.* p. 151, 4, (ὁ λόγος) πολλοῖς ὥσπερ ἀνθεστοι ποικιλλόμενος ἐπιστροφής εἰσι, and p. 1007, ἀνθηρὰν καὶ θεατρικήν διάλεκτον. In the second clause μεταφέρειν would have to be altered into μεταφέροντα, unless the infinitive can be defended by its being dependent on something lost in the subsequent context.

On p. 185 the editor observes 'pagina iii et iv vix cohaerent.' May I point out that while column iii does not combine with iv, it does combine with v, if we put them together thus? (It is a fault of style) τῶν ἀρθρῶν τοῦ μὲν προηγούμενον τιθεναι, τοὺς δὲ πακο[λονθοῦ]τας συνδέσμου[ς] μὴ ἀποδοῦναι, καθάπερ ἔγω μὲν τούτων πολλὰ κάγαθα πεποιήσι αὐτός μοι[α]χάριν οὐκ ἀποδέωκεν. The only alteration I have here

¹ This restoration is suggested in *Philologus*, i.e.

made is writing *μοι* for *μο* at the point of transition between col. iii and v. It ought to be added that the writer is here intending to give an example of *anacoluthon*.

P. 192, 1—4, Φίλων τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα περὶ τῆς σκευοθήκης οὗτος αὐτὸς εἰσήγαγεν δημηγοροῦντα. It is not clear from the context who οὗτος αὐτὸς is; but I suspect it was Demetrius Phalereus, for on p. 346 I find Philo mentioned by Demetrius:—...εἶναι Φίλωνος δὲ Δημητρίου οὐ Φαληρέων ἐν τῷ πράγματι, ἀλλος, κατ' αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ θάτερον Φίλωνος. If this conjecture is correct, it was possibly to Demetrius that Cicero was indebted for his familiarity with Philo: *de Or. i* 62, *Philonem illum architectum qui Athenis armamentarium fecit, constat perdiserte populo rationem operis sui reddidisse.* The date of Philo's σκευοθήκη was *circ. 347—330* B.C.; the life of Demetrius extended from 345 to 283.

On p. 127 mention is made of the *Panegyricus*, the *Panathenaicus*, the *Busiris*, and the *Helen* of Isocrates. Then follow the letters: [τὸν]...ρυγο... Is it possible to trace in this a reference to the *de Pace*, [τὸν] [πε]ρὶ <εἰρήνης> της? This assumes that *ερηνη* was omitted by the copyist after *ερι*.

P. 235, col. vi, 8—10, ἐπειτα δὲ πολὺ βέλτιον ἀμφιεθῆναι τὸν πλούτον ωμα. For this last it may be worth while to suggest *οὐμα*. On p. 237, 6 χόρος should be printed *χορός*.

Lastly, on p. 327, fragm. ix τὸ τὸν καθεύδοντα Οδονστάμη||...θηγαι, the sentence should apparently end with μη ἐγερθῆναι.

There are many other passages in this volume where the *lacunae* in the ms can only be filled up by conjectures founded on the sense of the context. The writings of Philodemus, which first began to be published about a century ago, still offer a tempting field for the exercise of that faculty which in England and elsewhere has been so much stimulated by the Greek *papyri* discovered in Egypt during the last half-century and notably during the last few years. It is to be hoped that the publication of the present instalment of the rhetorical works in a convenient and accessible form may induce English scholars to take some share in the task of restoring the text in the passages which either still remain untouched or have not been conclusively dealt with. If so, they will at least have the satisfaction of joining in a 'missing word' competition, which, unlike those that have recently come before our courts of justice, runs no risk of being forbidden by the law of the land. J. E. SANDYS.

FORBES' EDITION OF THUCYDIDES, BOOK I.

Thucydides, Book I., with Introduction and Notes, by W. H. FORBES. Oxford. 1895. Pp. cxxxii. 91, 183. 8s. 6d.

THE first instalment of Mr. Forbes' edition of Thucydides had been long promised and long expected. It is the work of an enthusiast, who has spent upon it—it is easy to see—an immense amount of labour and thought. In massing and marshalling material Mr. Forbes is undoubtedly a master; and by Greats men he surely deserves to be accepted as a prophet. To one who is at most *semipaganus* the book seems quite typical of Oxford—of Oxford with its engaging indecision, its fascinating urbanity, and its dexterous avoidance of that ‘chalcenteric’ fever that so often attacks the mere verbal critic. Of the limitations imposed by his method Mr. Forbes is himself fully conscious. He frankly states that he has not ‘sufficient knowledge of MSS. to attempt anything like a critical edition.’ This is very true. His text is, in point of fact, mainly Bekker’s; and the chapters are not even divided into sections. This being so, the editor need scarcely have included the text at all, in which case this otherwise useful book would have been diminished in bulk by some ninety pages; or, if he was unwilling to adopt a modern text, it might have been better to have a reprint of the Aldine or of Stephens, or even of the Latin version of Haas, all of these being less accessible than Bekker.

It is, as has been already hinted, upon the historical side that Mr. Forbes is really strong. He is not an original thinker: but he has absorbed and assimilated the work of several others, never—it should be added—without the fullest acknowledgment of his indebtedness. The whole of the long introduction is occupied with history or matters closely allied to it, the chapters being devoted respectively to ‘The life and mind of Thucydides,’ ‘Greek prose literature previous to or contemporary with Thucydides,’ and the ‘Trustworthiness of Thucydides.’ That Mr. Forbes is not led away by the attractive hypotheses of the daring writers with whose works he is so familiar is shown by the admirable exactness and caution with which he invariably states just how much or how little is really ascertained and how much is uncertain inference or bold surmise. The appendix to the first

chapter contains a valuable list of the blunders contained in the ancient ‘Lives’ of Thucydides; and of the doubts that surround the early literary references to the historian.

In the second chapter the most interesting matter is a summary of the evidence that supports the Niebuhr-Wölfflin theory of the origin of the *ἀρχαιολογία* of Sicily. This chapter is disfigured by a certain want of proportion; in particular, the influence of Gorgias on his contemporaries and especially on Thucydides is barely touched upon. The third chapter is very valuable, bringing together in a convenient form the results obtained by many recent workers. There is a detailed account of the variations between the narrative and the statements of inscriptions, borrowed largely from Müller-Strübing, for whose work Mr. Forbes has a just admiration, but is not led astray by his audacity. One great difficulty in the narrative of Thucydides, which was briefly discussed by Müller-Strübing,¹ is here insufficiently dealt with. Grote, as every one knows, was of opinion that Nicias, when he raised again the question of the Sicilian expedition, was guilty of an unconstitutional action, and might have been prosecuted. ‘Neither in iii. 36, nor in vi. 14,’ says Mr. Forbes with characteristic indecision, ‘where the question is raised of bringing a matter before the people a second time, can we clearly make out whether it was positively illegal to do so or not.’ With regard to vi. 14, it may be worth while to point out that in B.C. 404 the *πρύτανις* was, according to *Ath. Pol.* c. 29, bound by law *ἄπαντα τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπιψῆφίζειν*. It may be that in 415 Nicias is claiming that his proposal to put the vote again is *περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας*. The real difficulty lies in the meaning of the words *τὸ λύειν τοὺς νόμους*. If these words mean, as is usually supposed, ‘to act illegally,’ it is at first sight extraordinary that Alcibiades in his reply should make no use of the most obvious argument against rescinding the decree, viz. that, as Nicias had admitted, it was illegal to do so. But Nicias probably means no more than that the *president* might have some doubt whether it was legal *διαψῆφίσαται*. The question of legality, however, he goes on to say, could not possibly be raised in a case

¹ *Polemische Beiträge*, sub fin.

where so many persons were witnesses to the fact that *τὸ ἀναψηφίσαι* was the right course. This is only another way of saying that any one in the position of *στρατηγός* could by constitutional principle declare any proposal to be urgent (*περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας*) and could by stating the grounds of his declaration count on receiving sufficient support to justify the president even in putting a vote a second time. And clearly Alcibiades acquiesces in this principle.¹

In dealing with the *μέρος*, Mr. Forbes well says that 'the use of such words is not fixed enough in a political, as distinct from a social, sense to justify us in speaking of "the middle party." I think indeed that I have shown² that on some highly important political questions the persons who would rank as *μέσοι* had neither a traditional policy nor a common, or official, opinion.

The second part of the book is divided into Notes, Appendix to Notes, Notes on grammar, Glossary, a brief Index of Greek words and grammar, and a General Index to notes, appendix, glossary, and introduction. This method of division may be justified on abstract grounds; but it renders the book difficult to use. The notes are partly exegetical, partly historical; and occasionally various readings or conjectures are noticed at the foot. The harder passages receive further discussion in the appendix. For example, Mr. Forbes rightly says that in the passage *οὐτε Κορινθίων ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τὸν ιερῶν* it is very awkward to take *K. ἀνδρὶ* as dat. of interest; but his suggestion that we should revert to Götter's explanation and construct *K. ἀνδρὶ* with *διδόντες γέρα τὰ νομιζόμενα* is little, if at all, better. The words seem to me to mean 'not making a preliminary (*προ-*) to the beginning of their sacrifices *in honour of a Corinthian*.' The 'preliminary' might be something quite different from the *καταρχαῖ* proper. It might be a libation or a prayer offered *ἀνδρὶ Κορινθίῳ*. The 'Corinthian' meant is not present at the ceremony nor is he even a contemporary, as Mr. Forbes supposes with the other editors. He is the oecist, he is Chersicrates, himself, his name being unmentioned because the Corecyreans had neglected to pay honour to it. We should compare what Thucydides says about

¹ The statement that 'illegal action would not be blamed (for this is the meaning of *αἰτίαν ἔχω*) where there are so many witnesses to its innocence' does not necessarily imply that the *στρατηγός* speaking admitted that he was encouraging an illegality. This passage in vi. 14 is usually wrongly translated.

² *Classical Review* viii. p. 153.

Amphipolis, which substituted Brasidas for Hagnon in its ceremonies: *ὡς ἥρωι τε ἐντέμνουντι* (where the dative corresponds to *Κορινθίων ἀνδρὶ*) *καὶ τιμὰς δεδόκαστι ἀγώνας καὶ ἐπησίους θυσίας, καὶ τὴν ἀποκίαν ὡς οἰκιστὴ προσέθεσαν* (v. 11). In point of fact the oecist of Corecyra, Chersicrates, is nowhere recorded as being an object of reverence, whereas we know that Alcinous was worshipped in the island as a hero (Mr. Forbes, p. 34—not p. 33 as given in his index), doubtless because the Corecyreans preferred their mythical connexion with the Phaeacians to their historical connexion with Corinth. They 'made the preliminary to the beginning' to Alcinous as their hero, instead of to Chersicrates. The 'beginning' itself belonged, we may be sure, to Zeus, with whose *τέμενος* that of Alcinous was held in equal honour (iii. 70), and to Hera (Busolt, *Gr. G¹*. i. 307).

The notes on cc. 32 and 40 are very good. In c. 39 *fin.* Mr. Forbes omits the spurious clause that appears in G and in other MSS. In c. 73 *εἰ καὶ δὶ' ὅχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται δὲ προβαλλομένοι* he is inclined to read *προβαλλόμενα* with Classen; but asks how the corruption can have arisen. The sense is believed to be 'even if we are likely to find, as we are always talking about them (our exploits in the Persian wars), that they are a positive annoyance to you.' The text runs *τὰ δὲ Μυδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε, εἰ καὶ δὶ' ὅχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται δὲ προβαλλομένοι ἀνάγκη λέγειν.* But it may be that the comma placed after *προβαλλομένοις* should be placed instead after *ἔσται*, and that the meaning really is: 'But as for the Persian wars, even what you know yourselves as well as we, we are obliged constantly to *put forward as a defence* and to allude to.' That this is right, is I believe shown by what follows: *καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἐδρῶμεν, ἐπ' ὀφελίᾳ ἐκινδυνεύετο, ἡς τοῦ μὲν ἔργου μέρος μετέσχετε, τοῦ δὲ λόγου μὴ παντός, εἰ τι ὀφελεῖ, στερισκόμεθα.* Here *ἐπ'* *όφελίᾳ* applies equally to Athenians and Peloponnesians: but the next clause applies wholly to the Peloponnesians, and the last wholly to the Athenians. There should, then, be something in our sentence to correspond to *αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε*, and thus to point to the antithesis that is to follow. *εἰ τι ὀφελεῖ* is, in fact, *εἰ τι ὀφελεῖ* (*ἡμῖν δὲ προβαλλομένοις*). Consequently the speaker continues thus: *μηθήσεται δὲ οὐ παρατίσεως μᾶλλον ἔνεκα* (where *παρατίσεως* explains what he does not mean by *προβαλλομένοις ἀνάγκη λέγειν*) *ἡ μαρτυρίον καὶ δηλώσεως κ.τ.λ.* (where *μαρτυρίον* explains what he *does* mean by *προβαλλομένοις ἀνάγκη λέγειν*). The three

words *προβαλλομένοις, παραιτήσεως, μαρτυρίου* are all drawn from the language of the courts, thus keeping up the manner of the whole exordium. We should therefore read our sentence *τὰ δὲ Μηδικά, καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸι ξύνιστε, εἰ καὶ δι' ὅχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται, δὲ προβαλλομένοις ἀνάγκη λέγειν.*

The excellent 'notes on the grammar' and the 'glossary' demand special recognition, but call for no other remark than that there are too few of them. In particular, it is high time that some effort were made carefully to classify the real 'confusions' of thought and grammar that occur in Thucydides. Such a classification would help much towards settling the vexed question *what sort of passages are rightly con-*

sidered corrupt. For myself, the oftener I read writers like Herbst, and the oftener I think over passages in which the *thought* is supposed to be confused, the more convinced do I become that Thucydides is a much more careful writer and more exact thinker than is usually supposed. To examine carefully the *context* of a disputed sentence is, I believe, a golden rule very properly insisted on by Herbst. But such an exercise does not tend to increase one's respect for the MSS. where the meaning really is in confusion, as distinct from cases in which the supposed confusion of thought is due to our own blindness.

E. C. MARCHANT.

ROGERS' EMENDATIONS IN THE GREEK TRAGIC POETS..

Emendations in Aeschylus, with a few others in Sophocles and Euripides, &c., by A. M. ROGERS. Baltimore: 1894.

To the saying of Cobet, 'Commenta delet dies,' one is sometimes inclined to retort 'Conjectanea delet ultima ratio.' Of the emendations heaped together, for example, in Wecklein's Appendix to Aeschylus, how many are destined to rise again out of that 'Orcus' and find their place in any standard edition? Poor Theodor Heyse, who is sometimes referred to in this little *brochure*, used to say, when rewriting the Trilogy, 'If my readings are not the very hand of Aeschylus, at least they are worthy of him.' Though living at Florence, and frequently employed for others in the Laurentian library, he had long since relinquished all reliance on the Medicean MS. His *σπαργὸν θαλάσσης* (Aesch. *Ag.* 556), of which he was so proud, has not survived him.

Suppose all the emendations of any one critic to have found their way into the text of Aeschylus, and that by some accident all other copies had been destroyed, while all marks of distinction between MS. and conjectural readings had been obliterated:—would not the text which so became traditional be soon afterwards the subject of fresh emendations? Would not the places most liable to the cavils of a new generation be the inventions of the forgotten critic? And however little these may have diverged from the *ductus literarum*, it is unlikely that the former readings, even

where they were really sound, would ever be restored.

The pages now before us give evidence of close and loving study of the Greek Tragic poets by the late Alexander Mason Rogers of Baltimore. And although his busy life in the legal profession did not leave him time to supply the defects of earlier training, the acuteness and ingenuity of his mind rendered the bulk of the conjectures which he regarded as 'singular and valuable discoveries' at least as plausible as most of those by more accomplished scholars. It so happens that in more than fifty places he has hit upon the same expedient which others either before or after him have independently adopted. Such coincidence affords strong *prima facie* evidence in favour of a conjecture. See, for example, *Eum.* 483 where Mr. Rogers anticipated Wecklein in reading *φανῶ δικαστὰς ὄρκιοντος αἴρουμένην*. And yet I cannot allow that such evidence is necessarily conclusive. In reasoning from the same data, persons whose education has been similar may sometimes think alike without thinking rightly. Take for example *Suppl.* 629 where for *τέρμον ἀμέμπτως πρὸς ἀπαντά* Rogers and Hartung would read *τέρμονα πέμπτων πρὸς ἀπαντά*. Here the participle avoids the inconvenience of a pregnant construction, but is otherwise otiose, and supplants an expressive word. Or in the more familiar passage, *Agam.* 1391-2, where Rogers agrees (independently) with Casaubon in reading *χαίρουσαν οὐδὲν ἤσσον ἢ Δώς νότῳ | γαῖα σποργότος*,—if *σποργότος* by itself

means 'sown land' (which no one doubts), why drag in *γαῖα*, when by the change of a single letter (*α* for *ε*) we can have the expressive phrase *Διὸς νότῳ γαῖαν σπορητός*, preferred by Franz, and formerly suggested by Hermann? So in *Eum.* 576 where Rogers and Heyse independently change *δόμων* to *δνον*, if any correction is needed Hermann's *νόμω* seems more probable. And the coincidence with Reiske does not convince me that in *Trach.* 145 Sophocles wrote *χώροις* *αγατον*.

Of Mr. Rogers' new readings—the greater number—the following deserve special mention.

The attempt to make sense of *Suppl.* 826-832, if bold, is certainly ingenious:—

οἵδε με μάρπτει νάῦος γ', ἀτεις;
τί σάν, προμάτορ, πτάκ' ἀμνημονεῖς;
αὐθὶ κάκικυς αῖ
δάῦον βοῦν ἀμφάνω.
ὅρα τάδε φροίμα, πρόξενε, πόνων
βιαιών ἐμών. ἡέ, ἡέ.
βαῖνε φυγάδος πρὸς ἀλκάν.

In *Pers.* 975 an idiomatic turn is given by what is little more than a transposition of two words *τὰς ὡγυγίους | στυγγὰς κατιδόντες Ἀθάνας*.

In *Prom.* 354 *πάρος* *θεοῖς* *ἀντέστη* *θεοῖς* is plausible.

In *Ag.* 50, where Mr. Rogers reads *ἐκπάτοις λάεσι παῖδων*, it deserves notice that he coincides with Mr. Verrall in the interpretation of *παῖδων*.

Ib. 469. He is happy in defending *βάλλεται γὰρ ὅστοις Διόθεν κερανός*.

On *ib.* 777, *τὰ χρυσόπαστα δὲ ἐσθλά*, he shrewdly remarks that *ἐσθλα* (Auratus' emendation) 'denotes the very bottom foundation, which is never plated with gold.'

In *Eum.* 69 there is something to be said for *γαῖας παλαιαὶ παῖδες*.

The emendation of Soph. *Phil.* 1093 is rather plausible:

εἰθ' αἰθέρος ἄνω
πτωκαῖδας δέντρον διὰ πνεύματος
ἀλωσίμους ἐπ' εἰχον.

I am bound to add that neither Mr. Rogers nor his editor appears to have quite a firm grasp either of the idiomatic use of words or of metrical rules.

In *Ag.* 562 *τιθέντες ἐνθηρον τρίχα* could not mean 'laying flat the hair of the sheepskins and other furs.'

In *Choeph.* 199 *ἢγε* (conjectured for *ἢχε*) could not mean 'he brought (*ἥνεγκε*) the lock of hair.'

In *Ag.* 975-7 it is true that *ἐμτέδως ποτάραι* would be absurd if it meant 'firmly flies.' But how if it means 'flutters unremoved'?

And in *ib.* 413 *ἀδός εἰς ἐφεμένονς* *ἰδεῖν*, 'courteous to those allowed *entrée*' comes in rather oddly.

Then, as to metres—not to dwell on some awkward slips, which may have arisen from inadvertence (*Ag.* 1589), or on some laws of euphony in lyric verse which have been neglected (*ib.* 1006), neither Mr. Rogers nor Mr. Forman seems to have realized the rule of the cretic (*Choeph.* 239 *εἰς ἀράκας ἀς ἔχεις*), still less that in the synapheia which is peculiar to Sophocles a short syllable is inadmissible, and the line is always broken with a pause in the sense (*S.c.T.* 576)

καὶ τὸν σὸν αἴθις προσμολῶν ἀδελφὸν ὁ δέ
ἐξυπτάξων ὄνομα, κ.τ.λ.).

Nor do they seem to understand that in a senarius *ἀρσενᾶ θρῆνος* (*Ag.* 1322) is hardly possible. Lastly, to make an end of fault-finding, this undoubtedly ingenious critic seems to have been unaware how much it detracts from the probability of a 'discovery,' when it involves a change at once in strophe and antistrophe.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

HOLDEN'S EDITION OF PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF PERICLES.

Plutarch's Life of Pericles. With an Introduction, Critical and Explanatory Notes, and Indices. By the Rev. H. A. HOLDEN, M.A. etc. Macmillan & Co. (Classical Series): 1895. Pp. lxii. + 303. Price 4s. 6d.

It is always a pleasure to take up one of Dr. Holden's school editions, for one knows

that here at least one will find work scholarly, conscientious, and thorough. He is always master of his subject, and invariably studies all that has been written on it in standard works, magazines, and the humblest gymnasium programs. Every point—grammatical, historical, archaeological, philosophical—receives its attention, and his books are storehouses of inform-

ation. But the pleasure is not unmitigated. If every point receives attention, every point seems to receive *equal* attention: there is no sense of proportion. If his books are storehouses of information, they are storehouses of ill-assorted, undigested information: the true and the false, the useful and the useless, the necessary and the superfluous—all are here, and the reader is left to sift and select for himself. The present edition is an excellent example of Dr. Holden's method; and though it is rather late in the day to expect him to alter it, yet I would ask him to consider seriously whether the book might not with the greatest advantage be reduced in bulk by at least one half. The fact is that he attempts to do too much, and writes for too wide a circle. Is this edition intended for the advanced scholar and the specialist in Plutarch? I venture to think that neither is meant to come here for information, and certainly neither of them will be particularly grateful for being told how to translate γάρ (1 § 5), or ὡς (28 § 5), or even μηγέτε (3 § 2). Yet to whom else can the enormous accumulation of examples from Plutarch's works be of the slightest value—*e.g.* the note on 10 § 5 where no less than thirteen instances of οὐ μὴν δέλλα are quoted (fortunately not *in extenso*) or on 33 § 1 where eight examples are adduced from Plutarch alone of a quite common meaning of *χρῆσθαι*? If the book is intended for schools, all this is quite superfluous. No boy is set to read Plutarch for the sake of his Greek, nor is it of the least use to him to be told that 'there are 629 instances in the *Lives* and 538 in the *Morals*, where οὐ is employed' with participles (3 § 2). All that he wants is to be told what is Attic, and what is not, and why. It is only fair to say that Dr. Holden often does tell him this (*e.g.* 6 § 2, 34 § 2): but he tells him so much besides that it is to be feared that in the mass of useless chaff the useful grain will escape undetected—perhaps unlooked for. And even when he is giving really useful information he sows with the whole sack (*e.g.* 35 § 2). 'Nimirum memoria,' says S. Augustine, 'quasi uenter est animi': if the schoolboy does not attempt to remember the notes they are useless; if he does, he will infallibly suffer speedily from acute mental gastritis.

The text is preceded by an introduction dealing in three sections with the life of Plutarch, his *Parallel Lives* in general, and the life of Pericles in particular. Of the first two sections nothing need be said:

they are all that could be desired. The third contains an interesting and useful account of Plutarch's debt to his authorities. In his remarks on the character of Pericles he is not altogether fortunate. A critical estimate of that statesman's work has yet to be written: it would have been at least useful if he had put together material which would enable the student to form an independent judgment, or had made some attempt to extract from the 'bunten Bildern' of the comedians and Plutarch the 'Füncken Wahrheit' which really lurks there. But, instead, we get such uncritical remarks as this: 'The hateful insinuations of dark immorality against him may safely be disregarded as the mere suggestions of spite or prurience, or failure to comprehend the real nature of a remarkable man' (p. xxxvii.). The chronology of events in the life-time of Pericles is useful, but too full, while the brevity of expression which is necessary in such a summary leads to somewhat dogmatic statements on disputable points which would be better dealt with in a note (*e.g.* the Athenian tribute-list p. lvii.). Cavillers might object to the epithet 'wife' as applied to Aspasia in relation to Pericles (p. lvi.), and it was perhaps worth mentioning somewhere in the book that Holm holds the remarkable view that Pericles intended, by his relations with Aspasia, to give the Athenians an object-lesson in the sex question (*Griech. Gesch.* ii. 393).

Sixty-seven pages are devoted to the text itself, which is admirably printed, almost the only misprints being an occasional T for Γ in the quotations. But one's pleasure in reading it is seriously disturbed by the marginal analysis, which, besides taking up a great deal of space, distracts the eye, and is of no real use. The critical notes at the foot of the page are the weakest point in the book, their value being, indeed, practically nil. Apart from the form which Dr. Holden adopts, and of which the very first note is a characteristic and truly awful example—'Si² after x ci but does not adopt κυνῶν τε καὶ' etc.—what is the use of telling us what 'Ko Fu Bl¹' etc. read, if we are not told what the MSS. read? Yet the MSS. are comparatively rarely referred to, and emendations are sometimes printed without any indication of the fact, *e.g.* 15 § 4 προστέλλων where the MSS. have προανατέλλων. As a general rule Si¹ and Si²—or whatever be the titles under which H. disguises the names of these distinguished persons—may be safely dispensed

with, and considerable space thereby gained. Some may perhaps think that all Madvig's emendations are worth quoting: there are certainly four which should be mentioned, besides those which are reported, viz. 1 § 4 *ἐπεὶ <ἐπεὶ> τῶν γ' ἀλλῶν*, where the loss of *ἐπεὶ* is easily explained by what Dr. Holden has termed 'lipography' (p. 12), and the insertion gives a construction to the otherwise impossible genitive (H. in the commentary quotes in support of it Xen. *oec.* 3, 11: but there it depends on *αἰράν* and is put in front of the sentence for emphasis); 18 § 2 *παρεκάλει*, which is better than Bergk's *παραστέλλειν* for the MSS. *παρακαλεῖν* which H. prints; 24 § 2 *πλείστοις μὲν Ἐλληνῶν* (for 'Ἐλλήνων') *συνέφησεν ἀνδράσι* = 'had more husbands than any other Greek woman.' In 4 § 3 H. perhaps intends to read *Φλαύσιος*. In 7 § 1 a word is needed to explain why *ἡδύναντο* is preferred to *ἡδύναντο* of the best MS., for a schoolboy could hardly be expected to guess the reason. The note on the extremely difficult passage at the end of c. 15 is not altogether satisfactory, and H. apparently is not satisfied with it, for he accepts in the commentary Bernardakis' explanation of which he is not disposed to approve (and rightly) in the critical note. If the text is sound, which I doubt, Schmidt's explanation appears to me to be the true one, and how 'it involves the assumption of an improbable fact' I am quite unable to understand. At all events any view which makes *ῶν = ἐκ τούτων χρημάτων ὅν* must certainly be rejected.

The commentary occupies 136 pages. The notes on points of history, antiquities, etc., are full and good (especially those on 11 §§ 2 and 5), for Dr. Holden quotes from all the best modern writers—Hermann, Gilbert, Busolt, Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, Holm, and, one is pleased to see, occasionally Thirlwall. Holm might perhaps be referred to more frequently, especially as his book, now that it is appearing in an English dress, will probably become the standard history in our schools. In c. i. § 13 if anything is to be said about *αἰσθησία* Plato should be quoted: and more might well be said, with especial reference to Plato and Aristotle, on this treatment of art. C. 2 § 1 on the words *Ἀνακρέων ἡ Φιλητρᾶς ἡ Ἀρχιλόχος* (where *Φιλητρᾶς* is a conjecture) it is surely not safe to say 'the three are coupled together, because their poetry, with all its art, had no good moral tendency.' C. 4 § 4 more might be said about Anaxagoras (in the note on line 34 'Plato *Phaedr.*

279 A' should be 270 A), and the statement that 'his celebrated *βιβλίον* commenced with the words *ὅμοιν πάντα χρῆματα εἴτα νόος ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε*' is not quite accurate: these words are merely Diogenes' summary: Anaxagoras' *ipsissima uerba* are in Simplicius and differ widely. C. 5 § 1 on *καταστολὴ περιβολῆς* *Mor.* 800 B might be quoted. C. 24, § 5 l. 47 it seems hardly fair to describe Heracleides Ponticus' statement as 'misrepresentation': it seems to me exactly to describe the facts.

I have already protested against the excessive length of the book: and it is in reading the grammatical notes that one is most of all wearied by it. Every other word is translated; the simplest and commonest constructions are illustrated *ad nauseam* (e.g. the note on *μῆτε.. μῆτε.. μηδέ* c. 13 § 1); cross-references, sometimes to notes on the very preceding page, abound, and there are much too frequent references to Dr. Holden's other editions. These are particularly annoying: one cannot seriously be expected to go out into the street and buy a complete set in order to discover the author's views on the meaning of 'the enclitic *δέ*': either let him state them here and now, or let us not so much as know that he has any. The whole thing wants reducing by one half, and on the lines suggested above. On the other hand the notes are generally both scholarly and accurate, and the frequent reference to Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* adds greatly to their value. Such lapses as 15 § 5 'μιᾶ δραχμῆ, dat. of degree of difference,' and 19 § 3 *τοῖς ἀπὸ νεῶν ὀπλίταις* 'the *dativus militaris*' (the italics are H.'s own), or such worse than useless remarks as 8 § 2 'ἀπὸ τῶν οἰς': the relative clause here takes the place of a noun—a construction which is rarer in Plutarch *than in some other writers* (the italics are mine), are rare.

The remaining 91 pages are devoted to indices (1) auctorum, (2) rerum et nominum, (3) grammaticus, (4) graecitatis. The last I cannot but think entirely superfluous both as regards 'the few who have a love of Greek for its own sake' and 'the ordinary student' (pref. p. vi.).

If I appear to have criticized this book in some points unfavourably, it is not from any desire to be captious or to underrate its real value: that would be a mere impertinence. I have done so solely in the belief that if in a second edition the necessary alterations and excisions were made it would be ten times more valuable than it is. In the fierce light which beats

upon Dr. Holden's pedagogic throne the defects which I have mentioned stand out the more plainly. When one remembers what the ordinary English school edition was ten years ago, and considers the improvement that has been made, and how much Dr. Holden has contributed to that improvement, it would be the basest ingratitude not to recognize to the full the debt we owe him. But

if he would only bethink him that even in editing a classical author the law of diminishing returns is valid, if he would only add to the German thoroughness which characterizes him the brevity which characterizes, say, Sintenis' school editions of Plutarch, our obligations to him would be doubled.

F. ARTHUR HIRTZEL.

PAPILLON AND HAIGH'S TEXT OF VERGIL.

*P. Vergili Maronis opera omnia recensuerunt
T. L. PAPILLON, A.M. et A. E. HAIGH,
A.M. Oxonii e prelo Clarendoniano.
1895. The Oxford Text of Virgil.
Price 5s.*

THIS small text of Vergil is printed on paper so thin that the ink already shows through the pages, and in type so minute that those who read it can hardly hope long to enjoy eyesight with which to read at all. The book is unduly expensive, and is bound in fragile cardboard, with a back of white buckram that easily catches dirt. The paper is described as writing paper for MS. notes; but this is illusory, as the marginal space is scanty. The text is a reprint of that of Messrs. Papillon and Haigh. But what gives the book great importance is that the Minor Poems have been revised by Professor Robinson Ellis, who is engaged in editing the Appendix Vergilianana for Professor Postgate's *Corpus*. As the present work contains a bare text with no sort of apparatus criticus, we have to seek in periodicals, chiefly the *American Journal of Philology*, for the justifications of Professor Ellis' changes. His recension is mainly conservative; and he has brought new material to his task, particularly the valuable Corsini MS. of the *Culex*, a collation of which he has published in this Review, vol. vi. p. 203. From that MS. two excellent restorations have been made: *Culex* 88 illi Panchaia tura | floribus agrestes herbae uariantibus addunt (for *adsunt*); and *ibid.* 137 hic magnum Argoae naii decus *addita* pius (for *edita*). Comparing Ellis' text with those of Ribbeck and Baehrens, and, for the *Culex*, Leo, we find a quantity of changes, many of which are felicitous restorations of MS. readings, while many are masterly emendations of the editor, who in

this sphere has confined himself to passages generally admitted to be corrupt. Of rash and unnecessary emendation there is no trace; the sound judgment shown in the new text will greatly add to Professor Ellis' reputation for critical acumen. His wide learning, nice taste, and fertile ingenuity enable him to grapple with the difficulties of a Latin writer with peculiar success; and of difficulty these poems contain an amount out of all proportion to their length.

It is hard to estimate fully the large number of novelties here brought together; but some may be at once accepted as convincing. Such are in the *Catalepton* (so Professor Ellis prints the title) 5 (7) 3 et uos *Selique Tarquitique Varroque* (for *se liquitar quinque* and other corruptions): cp. Cic. *Aca1. Prior.* 4 § 11. *Catalept.* 10 (8) 10 *nequa torridum iugo | premente dura uulnus ederet iuba* (for *nequid orion*). *Catalept.* 14 (6) 9 *marmoreusque tibi caput, ignicolorus alas* (for *marmoreusque tibi aut mille coloribus alas*). *Culex* 5 *doctumque uoces* (for *ducum uoces*), though perhaps *doctumque uocet* would be better on account of *inuidus*. *Culex* 37 *haec tibi, sancte puer, memorabimus: haec tibi crescat | gloria perpetuum lucens* (for *memorabilis et tibi ceret*). *Culex* 61 *quae lacerant auidas nimia cuppedine mentes* (for *inximico pectore*); see *American Journal of Philology* 8, 402. *Culex* 117 *non tantum Oeagrius Hebrum* (for *tantum non horridus Hebrum*); *Am. J. P.* 3, 275, but see L. Müller *De Re Metrica* ed. 2, p. 317. *Culex* 119 *quantum te pernice morantur* (for *per nigre morantem*). *Ciris* 180 *nullus in ore rubor: ubi non rubor obstat amori?* (for *ubi enim*); *Am. J. P.* 15, 478. *Ciris* 321 *quae tenuis patro prae sit suspensa capillo* (for *pressit*); *Am. J. P.* 15, 485. *Ciris* 472 *hinc genus illi Sunius* (for *hinc uenus illi Sinius*);

Am. J. P. 15, 490. *Copa* 33 *per morsum tenerae decerpens ora puellae* (for *formosum*); *Am. J. P.* 8, 407. It would be easy to swell the list; these are only specimens of the good things to be found in Mr. Ellis' text.

I notice a few points: *Culex* 56 at illa | inminet in riui *prostantis imaginis* undam is curious: I suppose *prostantis imaginis* is descriptive genitive, 'hangs over the river water where the reflexion stands forth.' *Culex* 67 *Alconis* referunt *Boethique* toreuma. I do not think *Boethique* should be obelized; Leo's defence of its disyllabic scansion by the *deiectum fulmine* *Phaethon* of Varro of *Atax* seems adequate (Comm. p. 41). *Culex* 139 ac petit aeriis contingere *morsibus* *astris* seems to require parallel. I prefer *montibus* MSS. *i.e.* to touch the stars by growing on the mountains. *Ciris* 120 nam capite a summo regis (mirabile dictu) | *candida*

caesarie florebant tempora lauro (see *Am. J. P.* 15, 476) seems unsatisfactory. As the Rehdigeranus has *frondebant* I suggest *candida caesarie frondebant tempora flora*; Verg. *Aen.* 12, 605 has *floros crinis*, according to Conington, Ribbeck, Deuticke, Gütting, Nettleship, though not Papillon. *Copa* 25 Ellis retains *huc, calybita, ueni*, but has *calybita* any satisfactory meaning? Perhaps we should read *huc, catamite, ueni*, 'come here, my pretty boy.' Paul. *Diac. ap. Fest.* p. 44 M. *Catamitum pro Ganymede dixerunt, qui fuit Louis concubinus*. Cp. *Plaut. Menaechm.* 144, *Trin.* 928, *Apulei. Met.* 1, 12. *Copa* 28 *nunc uepris in gelida sede lacerta latet*; so Ellis for *uere*, but *uaria* the reading of some MSS. seems probable 'the speckled lizard': cp. Verg. *Geor.* 3, 264 *lynxes uariae*, Senec. *Hipp.* 62, *Ov. M.* 6, 114.

S. G. OWEN.

MELBER'S EDITION OF DIO CASSIUS.

Dionis Cassii Coceiani Historia Romana: editionem primam curavit Ludovicus Dindorf, recognovit IOHANNES MELBER. Vol. II. Lipsiae, Teubner, 1894. M. 3.60.

THE second volume of the new edition of Dio Cassius in Teubner's series, edited by Dr. Melber, includes the books from 41 to 50. The principles which have guided the editor in his revision of the text were so fully explained by the present writer in the *Classical Review* that only a very brief notice is necessary now. No new collation of the MSS. has been made, but the critical notes at the foot of the page contain every important variant and conjecture, the latter drawn not only from critical papers by Naber, Cobet, Herwerden &c.,

but from historical works such as Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* and Willems' *Sénat de la République*. For a few improvements Dr. Melber is himself responsible. The alterations in the text do not generally call for notice, but we may remark that the editor has accepted Ihne's correction *Kortias* for *Kaurias*, which the MSS. give as the cognomen of Octavianus in 45. 1, 1, and which Dindorf omitted as hopeless. *Kortias*, as Ihne has shown (*R. G.* vii. 304 n. 2), is a translation of the cognomen 'Thurinus' which Suetonius (*Aug.* 7) ascribes to Octavianus; 'Copia' being the title given to Thurii when it became a colony in B.C. 193.

G. McN. RUSHFORTH.

MADAN'S CATALOGUE OF WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BODLEIAN.

A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, by F. MADAN, Sub-Librarian. Vol. III. Clarendon Press. 1895. 21s.

THIS volume, though numbered iii., is really the first instalment of a large scheme dating

from 1890. This scheme, if carried out, will include (vols. i. ii.) a new edition of the old Catalogue of Bodleian MSS., by Bernard and others, published in 1697, better known as *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*: vols. iv. v. the collections acquired since 1800, and

MSS. acquired in small groups or singly from 1697 to 1890; vol. vi. current accessions from July 1890, with a general Index.

The volume before us (iii.) gives a short description, sufficient for the purpose of most readers, of the MSS. acquired by the Bodleian from 1697 to 1800. It carries on the numbering of Bernard's old Catalogue, beginning from 8717 and ending with 16669, a total of 7952 MSS.

The object of the scheme as above detailed is to catalogue in a style similar to the *Inventaires Sommaires* of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris such Bodleian MSS. as are (1) not included in H. O. Cox's great series of Catalogues, (2) not Oriental. The collections amount in all to twenty. Of these by far the largest is the Rawlinson. Of the Rawlinson MSS. the four first portions (ABCD) have been catalogued in detail in the quarto Bodleian series by Macray, and the Oriental (O) in his and Nicoll's Catalogue. The remainder, E to N, and P, are now for the first time summarily described by Mr. Madan, nos. 14235—15929 and 15988—16293. To classical scholars Rawl. G cannot but prove highly interesting (14737—14916), and it is probable that many of the MSS. contained in it are either wholly or almost unknown. I will mention the following:—

14769. Close of xiith cent. fol. 74^b. Chalcidius' Latin version (with commentary) of the first part of the *Timaeus* of Plato.

14774. xith cent. Sallust's *Catilina* and *Jugurtha*, with the *Invictives* of Cicero against Sallust, and Sallust against Cicero.

14775. xith cent. Another Sallust.

14776. xiith cent. Apollinaris Sidonius.

14782. xvth cent. Paul. Diaconus *de Significatione uerborum*.

14788. xiith cent. Catonis *Disticha*—*Ilias Latina*.

14792. (xiith). } Palladius *de Agricultura*.
14793. (xiith). } *tura*.

14813. (xvith). Collection of Roman inscriptions, chiefly from Spain.

14826 to 14834. Different works of Ovid: of these no less than four are the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, one of them (14828) as early as the second half of cent. xiii. Three of these Ovids seem to have belonged to N. Heinsius.

14836. xiith *Fabulae Aviani*: followed by 43 fables in hexameter verse, differing from all the collections known to Hervieux.

14839. cent. xiii. Statii *Thebais* i. to viii. 592.

14840. Statii *Achilleis* i. 1—667. Early xiv.

14865. Epitomae Livii. xvth.

14903. Second half of cent. xiv. Senecae *Declamationes*, with the commentary of Nicholas Treveth.

The Bernard Collection (8717—8886) is also full of interesting classical MSS. I mention as of special value:—

8849. xiith cent. Maximiani *Elegiae*, which I have collated and believe to be, next to the Eton MS., the best yet examined (see *American Journal of Philology*, v. 45—163). This MS. was once in the possession of N. Heinsius and, before him, of Pierre Daniel. Mr. Madan suggests that the MS. may have come from the Abbey of S. Benoit sur Loire. It contains many other works besides Maximianus, and is from every point of view very remarkable.

8851. Early x. Vergil with old Latin glosses partly in Tironian notes. This is Heinsius' *Mentelianus primus*.

8854. Circ. xii. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and the *Aeneid* of Vergil. Heinsius' cod. Sprotianus.

8856. xth cent. Vergil *Geor.* ii. 120 to end of iv., and *Aeneid* with the commentary of Servius on *Bucolics*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, and numerous O.H.G. glosses. Heinsius' cod. Rottendorphianus.

8861. xiith cent. Another MS. of Ovid's *Epist. ex Ponto*, with glosses.

8863. xvth cent. *Fasti*, and *Maeccenas* here ascribed to Vergil.

8864. Early xvth. Ovid's *Fasti* collated by N. Heinsius with four MSS. and books, one of which he calls 'excerpta veterissimi codicis qui cum hoc Mazariniano in plenisque consentit'; Heinsius also adds a note to the effect that 8864 was once in the library of Card. Mazarin, and was, on the pillage of that library, removed to Sweden and came into the possession of the celebrated Christina, who gave it with other MSS. to Heinsius.

A MS. deserving very careful examination.

8866, 8868, both of xiith cent. Ovid's *Fasti*: both belonged to Heinsius.

8883. xiith cent. A commentary on Juvenal.

Among so many collections it is of course to be expected that the subjects contained should vary considerably. Mr. Madan draws up 11 heads, and mentions the most notable MSS. under each. Some of the most interesting are in 5, English Language and Literature, e.g. Rawl. F. contains much English poetry, and old English, as well as

Middle English, occurs frequently. Under 6, Mr. Madan particularizes the *Carte* papers (Irish and English History in the xviith century), the voluminous Ballard, Rawlinson, and Hearne correspondence (for the first half of cent. xviii.), Council Notes of Charles II. and Clarendon (1660—1662). British Topography is very largely represented (9), the Oxford Colleges of course figuring conspicuously. Under 8 may be mentioned the Zamboni papers, recently so usefully put under requisition by Mr. A. C. Clark in his researches into the History of Harl. 2682.

In reading through this extraordinarily interesting volume, I have myself marked as specially noteworthy the following MSS., on general subjects:—

Correspondence of Vossius with Salmasius p. 386, of Bentley and E. Bernard 15611, of various scholars of cent. xvii. (15612 *sqq.*) including Ez. Spanheim, J. G. Graevius, Jac. Gronovius, Leibnitz, Mabillon, Quesnel; a letter of Queen Christina a. 168⁶, no. 15635; four English love-songs by Charles, Duke of Orleans (15161) *circ.* 1430 A.D.; Lydgate's translation of Cato's *Disticha* 14526, 14529; a very early English prose translation of Molière's *George Dandin*, 14600; account of Versailles in 1680, 14651; the *Hermaphroditus* of Panormita (Beccadelli) 13130, 14669.

The volume is absolutely indispensable to every public library.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

BAKER'S LATIN AND GREEK VERSE TRANSLATIONS.

Latin and Greek Verse Translations, by the Rev. WILLIAM BAKER, D.D., Head Master of Merchant Taylors' School. (Longmans, Green and Co.) 3s. 6d.

DR. BAKER'S little volume is a welcome contribution to the stock of 'fair copies,' which is as necessary as it ever was to the classical master in his higher flights. Many of the pieces rise to the level of original poems and are not merely echoes of Vergil and Sophocles, and this is especially the case with the Greek. Nos. 1, 6, 28, 30, 40, 42, 52, 61, 63, 68, 72, 95 are full of happy turns of expression. Where so much is good, a few exceptions may fairly be taken. 'Ast' is a most convenient word, but it may be a little overdone. Lewis and Short, while they note its absence from Tibullus, Catullus and Propertius, and its rarity in Horace (Vergil uses it 16 times as against 168 'at' s), give no clue to Ovid's usage; presumably it is rare. 'Liquor,' also a very convenient word, occurs more often than it should; 'clareo,' a Lucretian word in the sense of 'liquet,' is also a favourite; so also is 'undo,' which is common enough in the present participle but rarely if ever found as a disyllable. Diminutives too, such as 'parvulus' and 'ocellus,' should not be admitted without good reason. No 1 is rather disfigured by 'calcata,' too strong a word for the touch of a fairy foot, and 'rudi vento,' which surely cannot mean 'a rough wind: 'gravi' or 'truci' seems more appropriate; in 35

'rudem aethera' is found, but here the idea that the air had never before sounded to the chant of monks makes the word appropriate. In 8 can 'dissimili' = 'vario' and can 'alta voluptas' mean 'high delight'? In 9 'Daphnis' strikes too pastoral a note for Balder: and 'completi fletus' is rather unmusical. In 13 objection might be taken to the plural 'neces,' to 'laetitias' in 15 and tristitiae in 56. Here also and in 24 occurs 'fugitivus,' the only classical meaning of which is 'a runaway slave,' but again its convenience is indubitable. Does Ovid ever close the first line of an Elegiac with 'et'? In 17 'procul' is hardly strong enough to end a couplet; it might be hypercritical to suggest that though 'ora' might be green with myrtle-groves, 'arena' would hardly support them. In 18 'licet' is used with a participle—surely an illicit combination.

Dr. Baker no doubt knows the Greek Epigram Herrick has translated in 22. In 24 'restituit' can hardly be used for 'integret.' In 29 the use of *θαρρός* for *θαρρεῖ* is bold. In 50 'verba dare' is made = dicta dare. In 51 it is useless to protest against 'rēliquis,' which shelters itself under the authority of Martial, but which earlier poets surely would have used if they had felt the first syllable to be short—the same negative argument which forbids the use of the abl. of the comparative in 'i.' In 65 *ἀστεῖ* should be *ἀστεῖν*, and is not *κάμπτειν* *γύρον* always 'to sit'? In 69 'adhuc' is not quite correct; 'nulli or 'non hodie

might be substituted. In 75 'curvabant' is perhaps a misprint for 'curvantur.' 82 seems hardly worthy of a place in such good company. In 83 'hospitio' can scarcely stand for the 'entertainment' which one knight prepares for another in the lists. In 86, a Vergilian extract, 'excidi' occurs, an instance of the uncontracted genitive only paralleled by the tag, 'fluvii cognomine dicta,' which betrays the hand of the improver. Jupiter may per-

haps be said to cause an earthquake, though it is rather the province of Neptune. In 97 'violae colla' is hardly admissible, and 'laetitiae Deus' is doubtful Latin: 'dator' would be better.

So many criticisms may seem ungracious, but the book is so intrinsically good that it seemed worth while pointing out what in the next edition might be mended.

E. D. STONE.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ON THE THYMELE IN GREEK THEATRES.

MODERN reproductions of the Greek drama have familiarized us with the appearance of a square altar to Dionysus, mounted on steps and standing in the centre of a circular orchestra. This altar, customarily inscribed $\Delta\text{ΙΟΝΥCOY}$, is spoken of as the $\thetaυμέλη$. The orthodox further explain that in it we have a relic of the old dithyrambic performance; it carries us back—they say—to the seventh or sixth century B.C., when a chorus sang and danced round a rustic altar in honour of the vintage god. Such is the received opinion, definitely stated in the text-books and taught in every school. But that its accuracy is not in all respects beyond doubt appears from the more cautious attitude adopted by recent authorities. For example, whereas Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities* affirmed at first without any hesitation: 'In the centre of the circle of the orchestra was the $\thetaυμέλη$, that is, the altar of Dionysus' (p. 1122a),—Professor Jebb in the revised edition of that work says: 'Lexicographers and scholars often mention a $\thetaυμέλη$ in connection with the theatre; but they do not agree as to what it was, nor do they furnish any certain clue. The most probable conclusion is that the $\thetaυμέλη$ was the altar of Dionysus, in the centre of the orchestra.' In view of this reserve no apology is needed for a fresh attempt to solve the problem with the aid of further evidence.

Sokrates in Plat. *Euthyphr.* 14 C defines $\tauὸ \thetaύειν$ as $\deltaωρεῖσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς$, and in effect we find the verb used of meat-offerings, drink-offerings, burnt-offerings, or any other kind of sacrifice. The substantive $\thetaυμέλη$ (cp. *πίων*, *πιμελῆ*) has two meanings immedi-

ately deducible from its root: (a) the object sacrificed, *the sacrificial cake*, e.g. Pherekrates (L. and S. say erroneously Eupol.) *frag. incert.* 63; (b) the place of sacrifice, *the altar*. It is with the second meaning of the term that we are here concerned, and with that meaning only so far as it relates to the cult of Dionysus. The Dionysiac altar had two recognized forms: it might be a *τράπεζα*, or it might be a *βωμός*; in either case it was a $\thetaυμέλη$. Our knowledge of the exact shape of these two types of $\thetaυμέλη$ is derived partly from extant remains of the objects themselves, partly from the representations of them that occur on vase-paintings etc. In the *J.H.S.* for 1895, xv. 202, is an account of the excavation of an early Dionysiac precinct adjoining the Areopagus: 'in the middle are the remains of an altar, in the form of a table resting on four legs, and beside this, in the basis of the altar, is a sinking for a stela.' (*Ath. Mitt.* 1895, pl. iv. p. 167) Bötticher, *Baumkultus*, Figs. 43, 44, gives a couple of red-figured vases which show Dionysus Dendrites, with a table in front of him supporting jars in the one case, vestments in the other. The British Museum possesses a red-figured vase (E 451) representing the same scene; the table is here of an elongated form and bears two jars. A similar vase from the Louvre collection figures in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. Ant.* i. 361, Fig. 449, where other reff. are collected. These sacrificial *τράπεζαι* can be traced on black-figured pottery as far back as the early part of the sixth century B.C.; see, for instance, a *kylix* in the British Museum (B 3). And it is obvious that their usage implies the primitive conception of sacrifice as a meal offered to the divinity. It was of such a table that Pherekydes said *ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ*

τὴν τράπεζαν θυωρὸν καλοῦσιν (Diog. Laert. I. xi. 5). The other variety of Dionysiac altar, the *βωμός*, served a somewhat different purpose; on it was kindled the fire which consumed the burnt-offering, another means of conveying sustenance—acceptable *κνῖσα*—to the god. In the rites of Dionysus the *βωμός* was either rectangular or cylindrical. An example of the former occurs on a well-known *kylix* by Hieron, now in the Berlin Museum: here we see an altar of squared stone 'set in the midst, flecked with the blood of the slain goat, and adorned with a picture of the seated god; standing in front, the ancient upright image, half a post, half a man; from his shoulders break forth ivy boughs and fruits; about his neck is a garland of dried figs. He is just the simple god of the vine and the fruits of the earth, and almost circling round the altar is the ring of Maenads, broken in part into groups of two, dancing their simple *contre-danse*' (Harrison and Verrall, *Myth. and Mon.* p. 287, Fig. 28). The latter may be illustrated by the large cylindrical altar to Dionysus found in the temenos to the S. of the Athenian *Akropolis*. The *τράπεζα* and the *βωμός* are more than once mentioned together by classical writers, e.g. Pausanias VIII. xxx. 2 *βωμοί τε εἰσὶ τὸν θεοῦ* (Zeus Lykaios) *καὶ τράπεζαι δύο*, Polybius IV. xxxv. 4 *εἰς τοὺν ἡλθεῖς καταφρονήστες ὥστε περὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τῆς θεοῦ* (Athena Chalkioikos) *κατασφαγῆαι τὸν ἔφόρον ἀπαντάς*. And no doubt a full ritual would require both varieties of *θυμέλη*. Dionysus' cult was no exception to the rule. A vase-painting given by Blümner, *The Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*, p. 333, Fig. 145, p. 334, Fig. 146 shows a satyr carrying a branch and a dish of cakes to a small square *βωμός*, while 'on the other side, near the table for offerings, on which lie fruit and cakes, a woman, probably a Maenad, is seated, holding in her right hand a branch, in her left a flat basket with little dedicatory offerings.' Sometimes the *τράπεζα* and the *βωμός* were still more closely associated. Another vase-painting (*Mon. ined. dell' Inst. Arch.* vi. pl. 5 and 37) depicts a number of different Dionysiac ceremonies: amongst them is a sacrificial scene; in front of the archaic statue of the god is placed a large square *βωμός*, over which a Maenad is about to slay a goat; attached to the *βωμός* in the form of a bracket or half-table is the *τράπεζα*, upon which a female figure is depositing some bloodless offerings. We shall not then be mistaken if we suppose that the normal service of

Dionysus comprised an offering by fire on the *βωμός*, and an offering without fire on the *τράπεζα*—both taking place in the visible presence of the god.

But how—it may be asked—does all this bear upon Attic drama? In the following way. The performance of a Greek play was always regarded as a religious service: the point is too notorious to need illustration. And in some respects the arrangements of the theatre were analogous to those of other Dionysiac services. To begin with, 'on the evening before the festival the statue of the god Dionysus was taken out of his temple by the *Ephebi*, and conveyed by torchlight to the theatre. It was there placed in the orchestra, in full view of the stage, so that the god might enjoy the approaching exhibitions as well as his worshippers' (Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, p. 88). Again, 'that there was an altar in some part of the orchestra is proved by the express testimony of ancient writers, and by the circumstance that the dramatic performances were preceded by a sacrifice' (Idem, *ibid.* p. 132). Here, then, we find both the statue of Dionysus and his *βωμός*. Can we go one step further and say that the other form of *θυμέλη*, necessary to a complete ritual, was present also? Have we reason to suppose that the *τράπεζα* as well as the *βωμός* appeared in the Greek theatre?

Now the *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. *θυμέλη*, has the following note: Θυμέλη ἡ τοῦ θεάτρου μέχρι νῦν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ὀνόμασται, παρὰ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τὰ θύη μερίζεσθαι, τονέστι τὰ θυμέληα ἵερεῖα τράπεζα δὲ ἡν, ἐφ' ἣς ἐστῶτες ἐν τοῖς ἄγροις ἥδον, μήπω τάξιν λαβούντος τραγῳδίας. This remarkable statement should apparently be connected with Pollux Δ. 123: ἐλεός δὲ ἡν τράπεζα ἀρχαία, ἐφ' ἣν τρὸ Θέσπιδος εἰς τις ἀναβάς τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀπεκρίνατο. From these extracts we learn two things concerning the primitive Dionysiac performance: (1) that the *θυμέλη* was a table (*τράπεζα*, *ἐλεός*) on which victims were cut up; and (2) that rustics who sang, or the actor who declaimed, did so standing upon this table.

(1) The first of these statements clearly alludes to the *θυμέλη* of the table type, described above. Hitherto we have seen it used only for jars of wine, cakes, and other inanimate offerings. There is, however, nothing essentially improbable in the remark that sacrificial victims were cut up on it. Pollux in I. 101 speaks of *τράπεζα μαγειρική*, *ἡν οἱ νεώτεροι ἐπικόπανοι*, and in Σ. 90 says *τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ταρὰ τοὺς πάλαι ἐλεόν ἐκαλεῖτο*. An

'island-stone' (Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*: 'La Grèce Prim.' p. 845, Fig. 428, 15) represents a long-robed man cutting up a pig, which is stretched feet uppermost upon a low table: three table-legs are shown—a number which may or may not be due to the rudimentary perspective of early intaglios. More definitely sacrificial is the vase-painting in De Witte, *Collection de l'Hôtel Lambert*, pl. 29; this shows a priest and his attendant examining the entrails of a ram stretched upon its back on an oblong table. The tendency to elongation in some of these *τράπεζαι* is suggestive of a low stage or platform of wood. Hesychius in fact, *s.v. θυμέλη*, gives as one meaning of the term *θάφος ιερόν*, and conversely Aristophanes *ap.* Pollux Z. 91 called the 'catasta' in the slave-market a *τράπεζα*. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the *τράπεζα* of the Achaean gem coincides exactly—even down to the three legs—with the form of the comic stage as portrayed on vase-paintings from S. Italy (Baumeister, *Denk.* iii. 1751-3, Figs. 1826, 1827, 1829). In other words, the early *τράπεζα* was indistinguishable from the early stage.

(2) Moreover, both our authorities agree that in primitive times (i.) the singers, or (ii.) the 'answerer,' actually used this table-shaped *θυμέλη* as a platform upon which to stand. Compare Isidor. *Origg.* xviii. 47 'et dicti thymelici, quod olim in orchestra stantes cantabant super pulpitum quod thymele vocabatur.' And here valuable corroboration is supplied by extant vase-paintings.

(i.) A Panathenaic amphora in the national collection (B 141) has on one side a design thus described in Mr. Walters' *Catalogue*: 'Musical contest. Two male figures confronted on a kind of platform, the one on l. bearded, in long chiton and striped himation; the one on r., beardless, with long white chiton and purple upper garment, plays the double flute. On the l. is a nude male figure standing on the ground to r., with drapery on his arms and wand in r. hand; on the r. is the *brabeus* seated to l., bearded, with long white chiton and striped himation, and wand in r. hand.' Another amphora, also in the British Museum (B 188), repeats the *motif* twice; the official description is as follows: '(a) Musical contest. On the r. is a *bema* of three steps, on which stand two youths confronted. The one on the l. with fillet, wreath, and embroidered himation, plays the double flute; the other has a wreath, and long chiton and himation, both

embroidered. On the l. stands a *paidotribes* to r., bearded, with fillet, wreath, and embroidered himation, leaning on his staff. (b) Design as (a) varied. On a *bema* of one step, the two figures side by side to l. Facing them is a *paidotribes*, to r., beardless, as on (a).' The platform represented on the first of these vases (B 141) is a horizontal table-top supported on legs (one shown at each end), the lower part of which is carved roughly to represent animal paws: it accords precisely with the shape of the *τράπεζα* placed before the cultus statues of Dionysus Dendrites. The second vase (B 188) shows a later improvement upon the table-altar—an apparently solid *bema*. In (a) the middle one of the three superimposed slabs is picked out with white paint: in (b) the single slab is also coloured white. The white may possibly indicate marble, but is more probably a mere freak of the artist. Mr. Walters on technical grounds assigns B 141 to the latter part of the sixth century, *circ.* 520 B.C.: B 188 he would put thirty or forty years later, *circ.* 500-480 B.C. In any case the two vases afford a striking illustration of the words quoted from the *Etymologicum Magnum*: *τράπεζα* δὲ ἵν, ἐφ' ἣς ἐστῶτες ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἥδον, μήπω τάξιν λαβούστης τραγῳδίας. And since these words profess to be an explanation of the primitive *θυμέλη*, we may contend that in early times the singer and the flute-player stood upon the table-altar, while their audience remained on the ground.

(ii.) Not less complete is the confirmation furnished by Greek ceramic to the remark of Pollux. The vase-painting here published for the first time belongs to a most interesting class of Boeotian pottery, of which several well-preserved specimens were found on the site of the Kabeirion at Thebes. They are of a peculiar shape—a variation from the normal type of *skyphos*—and of local fabric. As to their date, Mr. Cecil Smith in the *J.H.S.* for 1891 refers them to the end of the fifth century B.C. He adds (xi. 348, n.): 'The Theban vases are black-figured; since we can hardly imagine black-figured vases being made at Athens as late as the end of the fifth century, it may be that the origin of the Theban type may date back perhaps a half century earlier; in a class of ware specially destined for a temple the style of black figures in which it had started would be kept up by a hieratic conservatism; the Panathenaic amphorae at Athens are an obvious parallel.' Their subjects are of course determined by the local cult. Kern

argued with reason (*Hermes* 1890, p. 1 ff.) that the Kabeiric worship originated in the East, and on reaching Hellas was amalgamated with various cults already in existence—at Lemnos with that of Hephaistos, at Samothrace with that of Hermes-Kadmilos, at Thebes with that of Dionysus. Certainly most of the designs

that occur on the Theban *skyphoi* are of a Dionysiac character: see H. Winnefeld's article in the *Mittheilungen des k. d. Arch. Inst. Ath.* 1888, pp. 412—428, plates ix.—xii. We shall not then be wrong in assuming that the present specimen of the ware, now in the British Museum (B 78), stands in some close connection with the



cult of Dionysus 'the Kabeiros.' The back of the cup shows a vine with grape-clusters, a form of decoration which occurs repeatedly on these vases and serves to emphasize their relation to the wine-god. But it is in the front design that the main interest of the example lies. Mr. Walters (*Catalogue* ii. 76) describes it as follows: 'Flute-player to l. with puffed-out cheeks, wearing a beaded fillet and himation; in front of him, two grotesque nude figures to l., dancing, the first slightly bearded, holding up a *tympanon* (!), the other beardless, with a wreath in his hand and another on his head, standing on a *thymelē* (!). On the left, a branch.' The subject of this curious group may, I think, be interpreted without much difficulty. In the first place, it is a Dionysiac rite: this much is clear from the provenance and ornamentation of the *skyphos*. Also it will be noticed that all three figures face towards the large branch or tree planted in the ground to the left of the composition: is it rash to suppose that at Thebes as elsewhere Dionysus was originally worshipped in his character of Dendrites, and that here we have the sacred tree which later piety adorned with human clothing and metamorphosed into a rough and ready image? Next, as Mr.

Walters remarks (*J.H.S.* 1893, xiii. 78) of the whole class to which our vase belongs, 'the rudeness of drawing is not the result of inability, but is intended for actual caricature': this points to some performance of a broadly comic type. Then too one of the dancers has mounted on a three-legged table, which recalls the three-legged *trápeza* of the Achaean gem and the three-legged comic stage of the Greeks in S. Italy. Lastly, a second dancer is cutting capers on the ground-level to the sound of the double pipe. Putting these facts together I see in the picture the representation of a comic rite in honour of the Theban Dionysus—a rite closely corresponding to those prehistoric customs out of which the Attic drama was gradually evolved. It can hardly be described more tersely than in the words of Pollux: *τράπεζα ἀρχαία, ἐφ' ἣν πρὸ Θέσπιδος εἰς τις ἀναβαίς τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀτεκρίνατο*. This interpretation does not claim to have exhausted the meaning of the scene. It might be plausibly argued that the dancer on the *trápeza* is a representative of Dionysus himself. When a man stands or sits upon an altar, he is to be regarded as specially belonging to, and therefore under the protection of, the deity whose altar he so occupies. Orestes in vase-paintings sits

on the altar of Apollo at Delphi. Pausanias VI. xx. 6 says of the Olympic games: 'Over against the Hellanodikai is an altar of white marble; on this altar sits a woman to watch the games, the priestess of Demeter Chamyne.' And the same significance attaches to the terms ἐπιβῶμος, ἐπὶ βωμῶν καθέζεσθαι, βωμὸν ἵζειν, and the like. Again, the three fronds that the man has stuck in his hair, and the branch or wreath that he holds in his hand, forcibly remind us of the way in which cultus-statues of Dionysus Dendrites were tricked

out. But my immediate point has been gained if I have succeeded in showing that the vase-painting as a whole aptly illustrates the words of Pollux. We must not, however, leave the subject without referring to a fragment of pottery from the same site which represents a very similar scene (Winnefeld, *op. cit.* p. 425, Fig. 17). The fragment is unfortunately much mutilated, but enough remains to enable us to distinguish the original design of the artist. It comprised three figures arranged thus:—

a

A male figure to r., wearing a himation and leaning on a staff.

b

A three-legged *τράπεζα* on which a (nude?) figure is dancing. He rests both hands on the table and kicks up his heels, as though turning a somersault.

c

A seated or reclining figure draped.

The same grotesqueness or spirit of caricature that marked the former painting appears here also, and the posture of the dancer is yet more extravagant. Pollux Δ. 105 among the *τραγικῆς ὄρχήσεος σχήματα* mentions *κυβίστηρις*, which may have resembled this heels-over-head performance. Mr. Walters in an interesting paper on 'Odysseus and Kirke on a Boeotian vase' (*J.H.S.* 1893, xiii. 87) asserts that 'the grotesque or ribald representation of myths was an essential part of the Orphic ceremonies, and was transferred to the Kabaeiric rites by the wave of influence which spread from Athens to Boeotia in the fifth century B.C.' However that may be, if he is correct in supposing that 'part of the Kabaeiric ceremonies consisted in a burlesque of mythological scenes,' the two vase-paintings described above may well depict the primitive rite in honour of Dionysus which formed the vehicle for such *ἱλαροτραγῳδίαι*. I surmise that at Thebes in the beginning of the fifth century B.C. a rude and farcical performance took place on the *τράπεζα* of Dionysus (once Dendrites, now 'the Kabaeiros') much after the manner of our illustration. Similar performances in Attica were elaborated into the drama proper. At Thebes they passed—perhaps under Orphic influences—into travesties of mythology. Even at Athens Satyric plays bear witness to the same tendency. A red-figure *oinochōe* in the British Museum (E 539) *circ. 440-330 B.C.* shows a 'satyr in character of Herakles in garden of Hes-

perides.' What is the general meaning of burlesque in a religious rite, how it differs from other forms of sanctioned abuse, *e.g.* *γεφυρισμός*, whether it is akin to hilarity or even inebriety—these are questions which would repay further study, and have not—so far as I know—been as yet treated at large.

For the present I pass on, noting that the facts gleaned from Pollux and the *Etymologicum Magnum* and supported so strongly by the evidence of the vase-paintings may be thus expressed: (1) the early *τράπεζα* resembled a stage; (2) the early *τράπεζα* was used as a stage both (i.) by singers and (ii.) by the actor. The inference is obvious—*the early τράπεζα was the early stage*. This identification completes the analogy between the theatrical performance and the ordinary ritual of Dionysus. The latter postulated a cultus-statue with the customary *θυμέλαι*, viz. a *βωμός* and a *τράπεζα*. The former has now been shown to have complied with these conditions. The statue and the *βωμός* stood in the orchestra; the *τράπεζα* was none other than the stage. That stage was (*pace* Dr. Dörpfeld) in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. a long, narrow platform of wood about three or four feet in height, probably connected with the orchestra by means of steps so as to allow of easy communication between actors and chorus. It was the lineal descendant of the table-altar used by the forerunners of matured drama. As was said in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.*

θυμέλη. ή τοῦ θεάτρου μέχρι νῦν ἀπὸ τῆς τράπεζης ὀνόμασται. Doubtless, as the *τράπεζα* was enlarged into the stage, it came to be forgotten that the stage was ever an altar. The name *λογέion* or *όκριβας* was given to it, and *θυμέλη* was restricted to the *βωμός* in the orchestra. It was even thought necessary to put upon the stage *τράπεζα πέμπτα* ἔχοντα, ή θεωρίς ὀνομάζετο ή θηωρίς (Pollux Δ. 123)—a table on a table! Oddly enough, in later times the appellation *θυμέλη* was accidentally restored to the stage to which it had been originally applicable. Mr. Haigh (*op. cit.* p. 155) observes: 'when the Roman fashion of transferring all performances to the stage very generally prevailed, the two words "orchestra" and "thymele" were both of them used to denote "the stage." ' His quotations practically put the matter beyond dispute: Bekker *Anecd.* p. 42 νῦν μὲν θυμέλην καλοῦμεν τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου σκηνήν (*i.e.* 'stage,' the late use of the word *σκηνή*), *ibid.* p. 292 σκηνή δ' ἐστὶν ή νῦν λεγομένη θυμέλη, Schol. Arist. *Equit.* 149 ὡς δ' ἐν θυμέλῃ δὲ τὸ ἀνάβαντα. Add the passage just cited from the *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* *θυμέλη*.

Thus far, then, we have seen that in the days of the great dramatists the early *τράπεζα* is represented by the stage and is no longer called *θυμέλη*, but *λογέion* or *όκριβας*, whereas the early *βωμός* retains its name *θυμέλη* (*e.g.* Pratinas *frag.* i. 1-2 τίς δὲ θύρβιος ὅδε; τί τάδε τὰ χορεύματα; | τίς θύρης ξύλειν ἐπὶ Διονυσάδα πολυπάταγο θυμέλαν;). It remains to investigate the relative position in the theatre of *λογέion* and *θυμέλη*. The site of the former can be determined with sufficient accuracy: it was parallel to a tangent of the orchestral circle, and its front edge (*τὸ ὑποσκήνιον*) at Epidaurus lay some few feet to the rear of the orchestra's periphery. The exact position of the *θυμέλη* is a more debateable point. That it stood somewhere on the level of the orchestra is commonly admitted, and seems to follow from the ensuing considerations. Ancient writers expressly mention an altar in front of the stage. Suidas, *s.v.* *σκηνή*, says εἴτε μετὰ τὴν ὄρχηστραν (*i.e.* 'stage,' the late use of the word *όρχηστρα*) βωμός τοῦ Διονύσου, ὃς καλέεται θυμέλη παρὰ τὸ θύεν. Pollux Δ. 123 καὶ σκηνή μὲν ὑποκριτῶν ἴδιον, ή δὲ ὄρχηστρα τοῦ χοροῦ, ἐν ἦν καὶ ή θυμέλη, εἴτε βῆμα τι οὖσα εἴτε βωμός. This was probably the altar used in the *καθάρισις* or purificatory rite that preceded the dramatic performances. And it was here that Aeschylus took refuge when 'on one occasion he was nearly killed in the theatre itself, because he was supposed

to have revealed part of the mysteries in the course of a tragedy' (Haigh, *op. cit.* p. 316). But granting that the *θυμέλη* stood somewhere on the level of the orchestra we must not hastily conclude that it occupied the central point of the circle. Such is indeed the orthodox view; and certain arguments have been, or may be, advanced in its favour. I propose briefly to criticize these and, should they prove unsatisfactory, to suggest an alternative hypothesis.

The belief in a central *θυμέλη* rests mainly upon archaeological data. (a) There are extant traces of *something* in the middle of certain Greek orchestras; and if that something is not the *θυμέλη*, what else is it? At Athens the surface of the fifth- and fourth-century orchestra has not been preserved: we have, however, the Roman pavement which may retain vestiges of the original design. Miss Harrison (*Myth. and Mon.* p. 290) says of it: 'There is no trace of an altar in the orchestra of the present theatre.' Mr. Haigh (*op. cit.* pp. 128-129) is more precise: 'In the centre is a large rhombus-shaped figure, bounded by two strips of marble. The interior of the figure is paved with small slabs of marble, also rhombus-shaped, and of different colours. In the middle of the figure is a block of Pentelic marble, 41 inches long, and 17½ inches broad. The centre of the block contains a shallow circular depression, which may have been intended to receive an altar of Dionysus.' Dr. Dörpfeld's recent excavations beneath the orchestra (*J.H.S.* 1895, xv. 204) do not seem to have thrown any further light on the question. Nor is the evidence obtainable elsewhere more decisive. At the Peiraeus the centre of the orchestra was marked by a small pit. At Epidaurus 'the interior of the circle is not paved in any way, but consists merely of earth beaten down hard and flat. In the very centre of the orchestra a circular stone, 28 inches in diameter, is sunk into the ground, so as to be on the same level as the surface round about it. In the middle of the stone is a circular hole. The purpose of the stone cannot be determined with certainty, but the most probable conjecture is that it was intended for the reception of a small stone altar' (Haigh, *op. cit.* p. 131). There is, it must be admitted, a certain amount of negative evidence. The excavating party at Megalopolis, for example, report (*J.H.S.* Suppl. Paper i. 78) that they have failed to find 'any remains of the *θυμέλη*, or altar, which doubtless stood in the centre of the orches-

tra.' (b) The approximate circularity of the orchestra is a fact which must be borne in mind. It might be argued that 'here we go round' implies 'the mulberry-bush,' that a circular dance round nothing is an obvious absurdity. Other rituals involved a dance *περὶ βωρόν* (see Hesiod, *Theog.* 4, Callim. in *Del.* 312, 313, in *Dian.* 266, 267); that of Dionysus probably did so too. In fact, Euanthius *de trag. et com.* (Gronov. *Thesaur.* viii. 1681) states: 'Comoedia fere vetus, ut ipsa quoque olim tragoeadia, simplex carmen, quemadmodum iam diximus, fuit; quod chorus circa aras fumantes nunc spatiatus, nunc consistens, nunc revolvens gyros, cum tibicine concinebat.' And Hieron's *kylix*, now in the Berlin Museum, represents just such a dance of Maenads round the altar and statue of Dionysus Dendrites. These are the chief points to be urged in favour of a central *θυμέλη*. They appear to me to render probable two propositions: (a) that in the middle of the orchestra was placed a small *movable* altar of stone, the socket of which was sometimes a hole, sometimes a depression, sometimes a stone basis level with the rest of the orchestra; (b) that the *κύκλιος χορός* danced its dithyrambs round an altar to Dionysus.

These two conclusions become significant when we reflect that 'in all dramatic choruses—tragic, comic, and satyric—the rectangular formation was invariably adopted, as opposed to the circular arrangement of the dithyrambic choruses' (Haigh, *op. cit.* p. 268, cp. Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1121 'cette forme...parait avoir été empruntée au chœur dorien qui était aussi quadrangulaire'). Now the orchestra of the theatre was used for both dramas and dithyrambs. The *τερπάγωνος χορός* of the former would be much hampered in its movements by an obstacle in the centre of the orchestra: the *κύκλιος χορός* of the latter would need a centre round which to dance. The simple remedy for this collision of interests was to have a *movable* altar in the centre of the orchestra, so arranged that, when it was not required, its basis would not project above the general level of the ground. Dithyramb outlived the drama. 'On applaudissait encore à la représentation des œuvres de Timothée et de Philoxène, quand depuis longtemps le chœur comique se taisait et que la muse tragique était devenue stérile...Même sous l'Empire, ce genre de poésie a subsisté, au moins dans les villes grecques...Au milieu du ii^e siècle, une lettre d'Antoine le Pieux

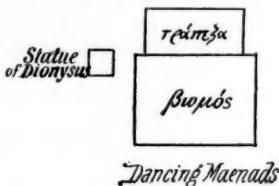
aux artistes dionysiaques mentionne la représentation d'un grand nombre de dithyrambes au théâtre d'Athènes dans les Dionysies' (F. Castets in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. Ant.* iii. 291). It was important to provide for the adequate performance of this—in some ways the most national—type of Greek literature without interfering with the more genuinely dramatic exhibitions, and the compromise may have been effected in the manner suggested above.

At the same time this does not solve the problem—Where stood the *θυμέλη* of drama proper? That it was not the stage is certain: that, as we have seen, was developed out of the old *τράπεζα*, whereas the *θυμέλη* of the best period represents the *βωρός*. That it did not stand in the orchestral ring seems equally clear: it would have sadly impeded the 'ranks' and 'files' of a rectangular chorus. And thus, by a process of exhaustion, we arrive at the conclusion that it stood on the level of the orchestra in the space between the orchestral circle and the *ὑποκίριον*. The obvious objection to this is that there was no such space. 'In a theatre constructed according to Vitruvius' rule the imaginary circle would trench on the proscenium to the extent of about $\frac{1}{7}$ part of its diameter,' and 'the theatre at Epidaurus is the only one in existence in which the kerb actually forms a circle' (J.H.S. Suppl. Paper i. 77). Even at Epidaurus the space between the circle and the stage does not exceed a couple of feet, which seems a meagre allowance for the Dionysiac *βωρός*. Nevertheless it is possible that in the fifth century B.C. a wider space was left between stage and orchestra. During the recent excavations at Athens 'it was found that the rock was cut away in a straight ledge, just under the line of the stage of Phaedrus; this cutting which is evidently an early one, may not be without importance in the reconstruction of the early theatre; it shows that the orchestra of levelled rock only extends over the part enclosed by the prolonged semicircle of the auditorium: outside this may have been either earth or wooden platform' (J.H.S. 1895, xv. 204). Here, then, in the fifth-century theatre of Dionysus we have room for our *θυμέλη* between a low wooden stage for the actors and a levelled space for the chorus: close beside it in all probability stood the statue of Dionysus to witness the plays performed upon his own *τράπεζα*. A red-figured *kylix* by Brugos, now in the British Museum (E 65, published in the *Mon. ined. del. Inst. arch.* ix. pl. 46), may

give us the *mise en scène*. One of two Satyric scenes on the outside of the cup shows three Satyrs attacking Iris. A neat stone altar adorned with volutes and ivy leaves is placed in front of a low platform (?). Between the two appears the stiff form of Dionysus, clad in a panther's skin, and holding a staff in one hand, a *kantharos* in the other. There would just be room for him to pass between the altar and the oblong slab. One of the Satyrs is springing from the platform (?) in hot pursuit: another leaps upon the altar in his haste: the third comes up from the other side of Iris, who vainly attempts to escape. Now Brugos,

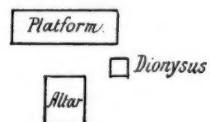
according to Miss Harrison (*Greek Vase-Paintings*, p. 23), 'is found often introducing scenery, Doric columns, trees etc.' It is, then, possible that this *kylix* depicting a Satyric scene may show us the relative positions of stage, thymele, and statue in the theatre of Dionysus. If so, we should have warrant for saying that about the year 460 B.C. the *θυμέλη* stood almost immediately in front of a low stage with the statue of the god to one side of it. The arrangement would thus correspond to that employed in the regular ritual of Dionysus; see the vase-painting described above (*Mon. Ined. dell' Inst. Arch.* vi. pl. 37):—

Arrangement of Dionysiac sacrifice as shown on Vase-painting.



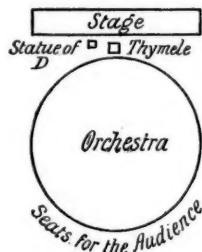
Dancing Maenads

Arrangement of Dionysiac altar, &c., as shown on Brugos' Kylix.



Iris and Satyr

This correspondence points to the following arrangement of the fifth-century stage:—



In defence of the foregoing hypothesis I would urge that it satisfies the singular statement made by Suidas, *s.v.* *σκηνή*, and repeated *totidem verbis* in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* *σκηνή*, and in the Schol. Greg. Nazianz. 355 B: *μετὰ τὴν σκηνὴν εἰδὸν καὶ τὰ παρασκήνια ἡ ὄρχηστρα* (*i.e.* 'the stage,' the late use of the term noticed above): *αὐτῇ δέ ἐστιν ὁ τόπος ὁ ἐκ σανίδων ἔχων τὸ ἔδαφος, ἐφ' οὐν θεατρίζοντος οἱ μῆμοι. εἴτα μετὰ τὴν ὄρχηστραν βωμός ἦν τοῦ Διονύσου, τετράγονον οἰκοδόμημα κενόν, ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου, ὁ καλεῖται θυμέλη παρὰ τὸ θέατρον. μετὰ τὴν θυμέλην ἡ κοινίστρα, τοντέστι τὸ κάτω ἔδαφος τοῦ θεάτρου.* Clearly the description 'after

the stage' will not suit the central thymele of the ordinary view; nor can the words 'after the thymele' apply to the orchestra, if the thymele is the centre of the orchestra. The only other hypothesis which explains them is that of Wieseler, who held that the *θυμέλη* was a wooden platform for the chorus adjoining the *ὑποσκήνιον*, lower than the *λογεῖον*, but higher than the *κοινίστρα*. The assumed purpose of this platform was partly to facilitate communication between the actors and the chorus, partly to secure for the dancers the advantages of an elastic floor. But that Wieseler's view was arbitrary and highly improbable has been

demonstrated by Mr. Haigh (*op. cit.* p. 155 ff.). The arrangement of stage, thymele, and orchestra, which I am advocating, fits not only Suidas' remarks but also those of Pollux, who says (Δ. 123): *καὶ σκηνὴ μὲν ἵποκριτῶν ἴδοιν, ἡ δὲ ὄρχηστρα τοῦ χοροῦ, ἐπὶ ὧν καὶ ἡ θυμέλη, εἴτε βῆμά τι οὐσα εἴτε βωμός.* The words *εἴτε βῆμά τι εἴτε βωμός* indicate some such structure as the *bema* in the Pnyx. It is true that in H. 132 Pollux remarks *Πινέξ δὲ ἦν χωρίον πρὸς τὴν ἀπροπόλει κατεσκευασμένην κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἀπλόγητα οὐκ εἰς θεάτρον πολυπραγμούντην.* But this, as Miss Harrison observes (*Myth. and Mon.* p. 110), 'doubtless means, not that it was not like a theatre, but that it was like the old form, the altar and the space for the spectators, not like the new theatres.' As the stage step by step encroached upon the orchestra, the *θυμέλη*, originally a separate block—as marked in my plan—became merged in the stage so as to project from it and justify the description *εἴτε βῆμά τι εἴτε βωμός.* Finally, the *θυμέλη* disappeared into the stage, which thenceforward, as stated above, appropriated the name and was known either as *λογεῖον* or as *θυμέλη*. These changes were not of course simultaneous in different theatres. In most cases we cannot hope to determine their exact dates. In some the transition may have been completed by the middle of the fourth century B.C. This would account for the fact that no room for a *θυμέλη* in front of the stage is left at Epidaurus.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

TORR'S ANCIENT SHIPS.

IN the course of Mr. Ridgeway's notice of my book on Ancient Ships there is a statement on pp. 265, 266, which I am anxious to correct. I cannot discover that I have anywhere called attention to the alleged fact that we do not see more than two tiers of rowers in any representation of an ancient ship. But I have called attention to the fact that we do see three tiers of oars on the Attic and Roman triremes which Mr. Ridgeway mentions; and I imagine that ships with more than three tiers may be intended on some coins, the upper tiers concealing the lower tiers in these broadside views. As regards the Attic trireme I suggested that the artist had made the oars of the second tier unduly long, and I suggested that the artist had left out one of the oars of the third tier in the Roman

trireme; but I did not suggest that the artist had left out a tier of oars in either of these ships.

Mr. Ridgeway starts the notion that Greek triremes 'had only two banks of rowers, thalamitai and zugitai, with certain others (thranitai) rowing with long oars from the elevated part towards the stern.' The objection is that these triremes carried 62 thranite oars with only 54 zugite and 54 thalamite; so that the thranitai would make a longer bank than either the zugitai or thalamitai.

Of course, I cannot prove the negative proposition 'that the ancients never knew the practice of setting a number of men to each oar.' But all the available evidence goes to prove that there was always one man to an oar on ships and two oars to a man on boats.

Others besides myself would perhaps be glad to learn how Mr. Ridgeway is going to support his notion that 'the Hebrew Taršiš is not Tarsus in Cilicia, but Tartessus in Spain.'

CECIL TORR.

REPLY TO MR. TORR.

I AM sorry if I have misrepresented Mr. Torr in reference to ships of three tiers. He says he has called attention to the fact that we do see three tiers of oars in the Attic and Roman triremes etc.

On p. 44 of his book Mr. Torr does speak of an 'Athenian three-banked ship of about 400 B.C. in fig. 21.' But in his footnote he says, 'The first two horizontal bands above the water-line seem to be waling-pieces, and the next is unquestionably a gunwale with tholes above the first bank of oars. The ports of the third bank are just above the lower waling-piece and almost vertically below the tholes of the first bank. But the ports of the second bank are hard to find.' (The italics are mine.) 'Three sets of bands run downwards from the gunwale, the first to the upper waling-piece, the second to the lower waling-piece, and the third to the water-line; and these all look like portions of the hull. But apparently the bands that reach the water-line were intended for the oars of the second bank and should have ended in ports just above the upper waling-piece, though the sculptor has carelessly prolonged them to the gunwale, like their neighbours.'

I do not think that scholars will be willing to accept as a complete drawing

of a three-banked ship this picture which Mr. Torr has to explain so elaborately. To speak of this ship as three-banked in his text seems to beg the question. Now for his Roman three-banked ship. Here is his note on it (p. 45): These waling-pieces appear again upon the three-banked ship represented in relief on Trajan's Column; and here the ports of the third bank are between the waling-pieces and the ports of the second bank unmistakably between the upper waling-piece and the gunwale. The ports of the second bank are probably meant to be diagonally between the tholes of the first and the ports of the third; though in that case an oar has been omitted in the third bank, either to avoid confusion or from mere carelessness. In the first bank the oars are hopelessly entangled on a railing above the gunwale; and altogether the design 'makes little pretension to accuracy of detail.' And yet this is the picture on which Mr. Torr bases his Roman three-banked ship!

Mr. Torr's imaginings about certain coins may be quite right, but he surely cannot quote such as evidence, where the upper tiers conceal the lower tiers in their broadside views. We must wait for better data. I asked the question whether there was any evidence for the extension of the *θαύπος* the whole length of the ship. The fact is that the sixty-two thranic oars in no wise prove the extension of the *θαύποντα* along the whole ship. If there were several men sitting on the same bank and working their oars through the same rowlock in the way in which I believe the Venetians worked their galleys, the sixty-two *θαύποντα* might be got into a comparatively short space.

The question of whether the ancients employed the practice of putting more than one man to an oar is of great importance, for it seems to be the only way of solving the difficulties about ships of ten, twenty and forty banks, for which Mr. Torr has given no solution. It is not Mr. Ridgeway's notion that the Hebrew Taršiš is not Tarsus in Cilicia, but Tartessus in Spain, but that of all the leading Semitic scholars. To give an instance, if Mr. Torr will look at the latest edition of Gesenius he will find that *Tarsus* in Cilicia is not even given as a possible alternative.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GERMANY.

Neuss.—On the site of the Roman Novaesium the foundations of a series of Roman military works have been laid bare, together with traces of ancient baths. In one large building were found many coins and other articles of the age of the Caesars. They will be placed in the Museum at Bonn.¹

ITALY.

Rome.—The excavations which are being carried on round the Colosseum have resulted in the discovery of the façade of the portico round the Baths of Titus.²

AFRICA.

Carthage.—In the Punic necropolis 125 tombs have been explored. One contains a painted terracotta mask of a peculiar type and shape of beard, with bronze earrings attached. In another was a terracotta disc about 3 in. diameter, with a relief of a warrior on horseback galloping, with a dog by his side; in the field, a lotus-flower and crescent moon.³

GREECE.

Eretria.—The American School have completely laid bare the orchestra of the theatre, with the proscenium and *τάρασσαι*, and seven rows of seats; the other rows have disappeared without leaving a trace. On the slope of the Acropolis a gymnasium has been discovered, about 200 x 150 ft., in which were seven inscriptions, mostly of the first and second centuries B.C., two in honour of *γυμνασταχοι*, one of forty-nine lines being wholly preserved. Six pieces of sculpture were also found, including a superior archaic bearded head of Dionysos, and a portrait head, both well preserved. Among the smaller objects were two silver coins, an excellent tetradrachm of Lysimachos and an archaic di drachm.⁴

Delos.—The complete plan of the ancient harbour has been traced. In the second century B.C. it was the chief commercial emporium of the Mediterranean. It had two basins, one for pilgrims, the other for merchants, known respectively as the sacred and the profane. The merchants' harbour was divided into two basins corresponding to the two quarters on land, the one on the N. of the sanctuary consisting of docks and warehouse quays, the other on the S. of shops and bazars for traffic.⁴

Delphi.—In unearthing the treasury of the Athenians ten more fragments have been found of a hymn to Apollo, which is practically complete, inscribed with both words and music. After the hymn comes the first line of a decree, which shows how these compositions came to be inscribed on stone. The people of Delphi passed decrees in honour of the authors, and ordered the hymns to be set out with the decrees when these were put on record. The purport of this hymn is substantially the same as the other. After an invocation of the Muses, the poet gives the legends of Apollo, ending with the slaughter of the Gauls in 279 and implores the protection of the God for Delphi, Athens, and the Roman government. The date must be after B.C. 146.⁵

Another hymn has since been found, in honour of Dionysos. It is earlier than the others and belongs

¹ *Athenaeum*, 10 Aug.

² *Athenaeum*, 17 Aug.

³ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 20 July.

⁴ *Athenaeum*, 31 Aug.

⁵ *Academy*, 10 Aug.

to the latter part of the fourth century. It has no musical notation, but is full of historic interest, and deals with the legends of the god and contemporary events. We learn from the inscriptions that the reconstruction of the temple was carried on all through the fourth century, and this is borne out by the hymn, which shows that the work received a strong impulse from the termination of the Sacred War against the Phocians who had plundered the treasury. Both these hymns will be published by MM. Weil and T. Reinach in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*.⁶

Among other recent finds at Delphi are a fine bull's head and an archaic head of Hera.²

Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. xv., part 1. 1895.

1. The Bee in Greek Mythology. A. B. Cook.

2. Some ancient routes in the Peloponnese (Plates I.—III.). W. Loring.

An account of the writer's investigations of roads between Sparta, Megalopolis, Tegea, and Mantinea.

3. Four fragmentary inscriptions (from Tegea). *Id.*

4. The frontier of Lycia and Caria. W. Arkwright.

5. Greek Inscriptions from Lycia. G. A. Davies.

Publishes thirty-one inscriptions from various localities.

⁶ *Academy*, 7 Sept.

6. Inscriptions from Lycia and Pisidia copied by Daniell and Fellows. G. F. Hill.

Edited from manuscript notes made by those travellers in 1842, transcribed by Dr. S. Birch.

7. On two terracotta figurines (Plate IV.). C. A. Hutton.

Publishes two recent acquisitions of Brit. Mus. (1) Cupid burning a butterfly; (2) flying Eros, carrying a pair of boots.

8. The Text of the Homeric Hymns: I. T. W. Allen.

9. A Vase in form of bust of Athene (Plate V.). Cecil Smith.

Probably a reproduction of a Pheidalian Athene, imitating the chryselephantine method, dating about 430 B.C.

10. A marble head perhaps from Sunium (Plate VI.). P. Gardner.

Suggests that it may be a head of Artemis from the temple frieze.

11. An Athenian lekythos (Plate VII.). A. S. Murray.

Illustrates a Greek proverb with reference to mourners.

12. A fourth century head in the Central Museum, Athens. E. F. Benson.

Shows that it must be an Aphrodite plaiting her hair, of Scopaic type.

13. Archaeology in Greece, 1894–5. E. A. Gardner.

H. B. WALTERS.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1894.

THE Department of Coins has acquired 648 coins of the Greek class during the past year—an unusually large number. 31 of these are in gold and electrum, 164 in silver and 453 in bronze. A selection of noteworthy specimens is described by Mr. Wroth in the *Numismatic Chronicle* Part ii., 1895, pp. 89–103 (with one Plate). Among these Coins may be noticed: 1. Two gold double-staters of Philip II. of Macedon, forming part of a small hoard said to have been found near Constantinople. They are barbarous copies of the well-known staters of Philip and are probably Gaulish work of the third century B.C. 2. *Meliboei in Thessaly*. A quarter drachm of the fourth century B.C., the first silver coin of this town that has come to light. 3. *Sybrita in Crete*. A drachm with heads of Dionysos and Hermes, similar to the fine didrachm with these types already in the British Museum. 4. *Pergamum in Mysia*. A rare gold stater (*obv.* Head of Herakles, *rev.* Archaic figure of Athena) struck at Pergamum about B.C. 310, probably by Herakles (the son of Alexander the Great), who with his mother Barsine resided at Pergamum. 5. *Cyme in Aeolis*. A bronze Imperial coin of Sabina with *rev.* Eirene holding the child Plutos in her right arm. Cf. the Eirene and Plutos group of Cephalosodotus. 6. *Codrula in Pisidia*. An unpublished bronze coin proving that the coinage extended to the time of Sept. Severus. 7. *Verbe in Pisidia*. Bronze coin of Philip junior. *Seleucia ad Calycadnum in Cilicia*. Bronze coin of Macrinus. Obverse type, the infant Dionysos seated on throne attended by the Corybantes.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part ii. 1895.

W. Wroth. 'Greek Coins acquired in the British Museum in 1894.'—W. Ridgeway. 'How far could the Greeks determine the fineness of gold and silver coins?' An interesting commentary—with remarks on early Greek weights—on a neglected passage in Theophrastus, *De Lapidibus* § 46, where a valuable touchstone found in the Lydian river Tmolus is described. *Reviews &c.* G. F. Hill. Notice of Sittl's *Antike Numismatik* in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*. L. A. D. Montague. 'On the monogram on denarii of Caesius and Manius Fonteius,' interpreted as 'Roma.'

Revue Numismatique. Deuxième trimestre, 1895.

R. Mowat. 'Les noms de l' Empereur Carausius.' Gives reasons for supposing that the full name of this ruler was *M. Aurelius Maus(a)ius or aeus) Carausius*. R. Mowat. 'Les ateliers monétaires impériaux en Gaule, principalement de Postume à Tetricus.'—J. A. Blanchet. 'Monnaies grecques.' Coins, chiefly of Boeotia, recently acquired for the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. A rare bronze coin is included of Eurea in Thessaly, a town not mentioned in the authors.—Review of Wroth's *Coins of Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos* by E. Babelon.

Numismatische Zeitschrift. (Vienna.) Volume xxvi. (for 1894).

J. Raillard. 'Die Identität von Abila Lysaniae mit Leukas am Chrysorhoas.'—F. Kenner. 'Die älteste Prägungen der Münzstätte Nicomedia.' On the Roman coins struck at Nicomedia.

F. Kenner. 'Römische Goldmünzen der Sammlung Weißert in Belgrad.'

Zeitschrift für Numismatik. (Berlin.) Vol. xx. Pt. 1.

H. Von Fritze. 'Beitrag zur Münzkunde von Delphi.'

The American Journal of Philology. Whole No. 61. April 1895.

Agglutination and Adaptation II. E. W. Fay. Continued from No. 58 [Cl. Rev. viii. 474]. This paper treats of: (1) the root *dhe* in agglutinative groups, here it is attempted to be shown that Lat. fut. *-bi* = Gk. *-θη-* of aor. and fut. passive, (2) the accus. imper. e.g. *βεῖγον*, (3) the second sing. perf. *-stha*, (4) the numerals, and (5) the embryogeny of roots. *On the etymology of the term seva*, C. Levias. *Kισσός* and *hedera*, L. Horton-Smith. The origin of the difficult *i* in *κισσός* is to be sought from mythology. The ivy **κεσσος* (Lat. *hederā*) came to be a favourite symbol in the religious rites of the oriental Dionysos, of whom *Kίσσος* was one of the epithets. Then, in the popular consciousness, any epithet of the god such as *Kίσσος* and *κισσός*, its oriental origin having been completely forgotten, would be connected no longer with anything save *κισσός* 'ivy.' *Kratinos and Aristophanes on the cry of the sheep*, A. N. Jannaris. Attempts to show that the original form of the famous *βῆ βῆ* of Kratinos was not *BH BH* but *BEBE* (if not *BEBEE*); that this *BEBE* does not represent the *sheep-ery*, but means the *sheep itself*; and that the words *ώστερ πρόβατον* are an interpolation intended to explain the mistaken *βῆ βῆ*. *A contribution to Latin Lexicography*, C. Knapp. A continuation from No. 54 [Cl. Rev. vii. 482]. The present paper is concerned chiefly with Gellius. *Notes on Thucydides*, H. N. Fowler. In i. 8, 1 *τῷ σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων* is not *fashion* of their arms, as Jowett translates, but *outfit* of arms or *military outfit*. In i. 9, 3 something like *καὶ πεζός* has perhaps fallen out or been intended after *καὶ παντικῷ τε*. In i. 28, 3 *φίλων*, from the preceding *φίλοις*, is to be supplied with *όντων* to explain *μαλαλον*. *Notes on Aristophanes' Clouds*, S. R. Winans. On ll. 175-180, 73, and 1474. *Horace*, Ep. i. 6, 49-52, G. N. Olcott. The scholiasts' explanation of *pondera* as the stepping-stones across the streets, which has been generally doubted, is somewhat strengthened by an inscription of the year 656 A. u. c. from Capua. Among the books reviewed are Gudeman's *P. Cornelii Tuciti Dialogus de Oratoribus*, of which a long notice is given by G. L. Hendrickson, who finds this far the most ambitious and complete of the recent editions, and Earle's edition of *Euripides' Alcestis* by H. W. Hayley. 'The explanatory notes are clear and concise, and err, if at all, in the direction of too great brevity. The edition will be valuable to the critical student of Eur., as well as to the school-boy.' There are also 'brief mentions' of R. Horton-Smith's bulky work, *Conditional Sentences in Greek and Latin*. 'The author's processes are old-fashioned, and his observations sporadic and unsystematic,' and of Dr. Holden's *Plutarch's Life of Pericles* which is on the lines of his other Plutarchean work.

Hermathena. No. 21, 1895.

De duplice forma Actorum Lucae, F. Blaß. A reply to the criticism of F. H. Chase in *The Critical Review* (1894, pp. 300 sqq.), who there maintains that the same arguments would prove a double recension of the four gospels also. Prof. Blaß maintains that the cases are not similar. *Blaydes' Adversaria in Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*,

R. Ellis. One of the strongest points in Dr. Blaydes' work is the great accumulation of parallel citations. The appendix (of 181 pages) deals with Nauck's second edition (1889) which furnishes vast new materials. *Pauly's Real-Encyclopaedie*, J. P. Mahaffy. The editor (Prof. G. Wissowa) 'has adopted a principle the reverse of the one preferred in the earlier edition. There the general treatment in large articles predominated, from which the reader was referred to many smaller ones on special points. In the present work the general articles are only intended to give a guide or clue through the field. The weight and detail of the special articles are increased.' *On two inscriptions from Dimch (Fayyām)*, J. P. Mahaffy. (1) Published by F. Krebs in the *Göttingen Nachrichten* Dec. 1892, found by H. Brugsch near the N. W. corner of the lake of the Fayyām. This is further elucidated and modified by (2) which was copied by Prof. Mahaffy at the Gizeh Museum, March 1894. The second appears to be an official correction of the first. *Notes on Martial*, A. Palmer. Contains various conjectures. *A question in criticism illustrated from Cicero's Letters*, R. Y. Tyrrell. The insertion or omission of the word *non* ought to be regarded as the last resource of despair in criticism. Three examples are given (Q. Fr. ii. 9 (11), 4, Att. xii. 13, 1, xiv. 1, 2), in the first two of which all the editors wrongly insert *non*, while in the third many of them do. [The first is the famous sentence about Lucretius. It is clear that the *non* should not be inserted. Munro suggested that the insertion was unnecessary and Maguire (Hermathena 1881) anticipated Prof. Tyrrell in this explanation.] In Att. xii. 45, 2 *ne* is wrongly changed by the editors to *ne*. On the other hand in Att. xiii. 30, 1 *non* is wrongly bracketed by many. *Furneaux's De Germania*, G. Wilkins. Commends the editor's tact and sobriety of judgment in dealing with the various emendations proposed, and often in leaving the text unaltered. 'Apart from extrinsic interests, the *De Germania* is well adapted for early use as a school-book; because no boy, however young, can read it without his attention being aroused by its striking style.' *The Vulgate of St. John*, J. H. Bernard. The fourth instalment of the Oxford edition of the Vulgate N. T. has now been issued, thus completing the text of the Gospels. A few of the more striking textual variants and of the learned notes in which the MS. evidence is set forth are here noticed. *Waddell's Parmenides*, John J. Beare. 'A work nobly planned and nobly executed.' It contains an elaborate Introduction, with Text, and Notes critical and explanatory. The Text is that of the celebrated Clarke MS. now in the Bodleian. A complete *apparatus criticus* is furnished by a collation of the readings of the Clarke, Tübingen, and Ven. t MSS. The reviewer contributes an elaborate note upon the use of the article with proper names in the Platonic dialogues. Jowett and Campbell's *Republic of Plato*, John J. Beare. 'This edition has been received with deserved welcome by all students of Plato.' Unfortunately the co-editors differ on many points, and thus the reader is burdened with the labour of deciding between them. They differ especially on the value of conjectural emendation, and the difference is altogether in favour of the younger editor whose views are much the more sound and liberal. Indeed Jowett seems almost to deny the value of conjectural emendation altogether. *Note on Kant*, John J. Beare. An extract from the *Spectator* No. 111, July 7, 1711, which contains the fundamental thought of Kant's argument for immortality as a postulate of Practical Reason. It is suggested that Kant may have seen this paper. *Blass' Commentary on the Acts*, G. Salmon. Most

instructive as a commentary both on grammatical and historical points. Blass has shown that a preference for the imperfect tense is quite a feature in St. Luke's style. The least satisfactory part is the work on the text. *A new inscription from the Fayyām*, J. P. Mahaffy. An inscription found on two parts of one stone, one part having been sent to Prof. Mahaffy and the other quite independently to Prof. Wileken of Breslau. Lindsay's *Latin Language*, W. J. M. Starkie. The most striking characteristic of this valuable book is its full reference to the Latin grammarians, to the Oscan and Umbrian dialects, and the early Latin inscriptions and fragments of the scenic and other early Latin writers. *British Museum Papyrus* ccc: J. P. Mahaffy. Here first published. Deazley's *Horace*, A. Palmer. A poetical translation of Books i. and ii. of the Odes. Contains much that is pleasing. There are also three notes on *Propertius* by Prof. Palmer, and this number closed with some translations from Homer and Aeschylus by the late Dr. John Anster, the well-known translator of Faust.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. xix. Part 1. Jan. 1895.

Les ouvrages de Tacite réussirent-ils auprès des contemporains? P. Fabia. Maintains against Haase the old view that the works of Tacitus were expected with impatience, received with applause, and from their first publication regarded as masterpieces. *Un passage de Platon mal interprété* (Rep. x. 616 B-617 B), P. Couvreur. A new interpretation founded on some expressions of Theon of Smyrna in his *Astronomy* § 16 (who quotes the passage), and on a close examination of Plato's text. *Remarques sur des textes d'Horace et de Cicéron*, H. Weil. Gives a new explanation of A. P. 251-256 by merely changing the punctuation. In Cie. de Or. iii. § 185, reads *postea paenitius* for *post anapaeustus*. *Aristote, Constitution d'Athènes, Notes sur la seconde partie*, P. Foucart. Continued from the last vol. Here cc. 48-57 are dealt with. *Sur un vers de Valérius Flaccus*, J. Chauvin. In i. 420, reads *taurea vulnifico portat celer aspera plumbo*. The MS. reading *celera* *plumbo* is mutilated, and the usual reading is *caelata* *plumbo*. *La fable du Lion amoureux dans Babrius*, E. Tournier. Some conjectures on the text. *Sur les Suasoriae vi. et vii. de Sénèque*, J. van der Vliet. Explanatory notes on these speeches. *Sur l'épisode de Philémon et Baucis* (Ov. Met. viii. 624 sqq.), E. Tournier. Reads in 667 *durata* for *versata*, in 678 *ut parca* for *pauperrima*, and in 709 *ne* for *nec*. *Le Grammairien Virgile et les rythmes latins*, P. Lejay. A study of the origin of rhythmic poetry (i.e. poetry depending on accent not quantity) from an examination of the *epitoma de metris* of the grammarian V. who lived in the S. of Gaul about 600 A.D. *Juvenal* viii. 7, G. Lafaye. Instead of

rejecting this line, reads *Torquatum* for *Corvinum*. *Sur un passage de Théon de Smyrne*, P. Tannery. Corrects a passage p. 99, ll. 13-18, ed. Müller (Leipzig, Teubner 1875). *Le prologue de l'Amphytrion de Plaute*, A. Audollent. Defends the authenticity of this prologue against Ritschl, except of ll. 64-87 which refer to a permanent theatre, and perhaps ll. 112-115.

Part 2. April 1895.

Une page de l'Oreste d'Euripide sur papyrus d'Égypte, J. Nicole. Describes a fragment discovered in the Fayoum two years ago, containing ll. 1062-1090. The date cannot be precisely fixed but it is probably the second or third century A.D. *Pausanias et la destruction d'Haliartos par les Perses*, M. Holleaux. Maintains that Pausanias, in attributing the destruction of Haliartos to the Persians, has confused them with the Macedonian King Perseus, and that H. was really destroyed by the Romans in the Macedonian War. *Plautus*, Trin. 969, L. Havet. For *quod a me* proposes *quod of (= ad) me*. *Plato*, Rep. 616 BC, P. Tannery. Referring to the note on this passage in the previous part, the writer holds that the φῶς εὐθύ, ὁλὸς κίονα is not the Milky Way, but rather a horizontal diameter of the world of Ideas. *Dédicace de deux chorèges*, P. Foucart. On an inscription recently discovered at Eleusis and published by M. Philios in the *Mittheil. Athén.* 1894, which is of much interest for the history of the Athenian drama. It contains the names of Aristophanes and the younger Sophocles, and its date is B.C. 399-339. *Question à propos d'Hérodote*, E. Tournier. In i. 108 τὸ γενόμενον is proposed for τὸ γενόμενον, cf. v. 92. *Nouvelles études sur le manuscrit d'Isocrate du fonds d'Urbain*, A. Martin. A revision of the *Eriagoras* and *Encomium Helenae* since the writer's collation of this MS. published in 1881. *Notes épigraphiques: Athènes, Lemnos, Milet*, J. Delamarre. Text and elucidation of three inscriptions hitherto unpublished, the first and third in Paris, the second in Constantinople. *Inscription de Curubis*, M. Bréal. Contains the name of P. Attius Varus, propraetor of Africa. The date is B.C. 49. *Lucrece*, A. Cartault. In ii. 7, makes *serena* agree with *doctrina* and not with *templa*. *Ovide, Met. ii. 744*. Reads *vultuque minax suspicere duxit*. *Sur un passage d'Ovide, Met. viii. 108-151*, E. Tournier. *Tile Live*, xxvii. 23, 2, R. Pichou. Reads *Casilini* for *Casini* on the ground that the other places named in the same clause are in Campania. *Deux corrections sur le texte du pro Archia*, A. Cartault. In § 19 reads *repudiamus* for *repudiamus*, and in § 26 *praedicare* for *praedicari*. *Notes latines*, P. Lejay. On *sonare* and *sonere*, *voto* and *veto*, *vindex*, *invidentia* and *invidior*, *temporum gante*, and Ov. Met. i. 15.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

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(Extract from 'Denkschriften der K. K. Akademie d. W.')

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